The recognition of these "false realities," he argues, led to another extreme, i.e. the acceptance of economic liberalism with its chain of consequences detrimental to the survival of Afrikanerdom: "common economy," "economic integration," "economic equalization," "political equalization."[16]

De Klerk takes a slightly different approach. He associates the crisis with the political developments of the 1970s. For example the resistance movement, which started with the events of 1976 in Soweto, highlighted that blacks could no longer tolerate apartheid. The 1978 Information Scandal, which involved the purchase of American newspapers through state funds to promote political propaganda in favour of the National Party, also created awareness in Afrikaans circles that a blind loyalty to leaders was dangerous. These events culminated in P.W. Botha's "adapt or die" declaration in 1978, in which he stated that apartheid was outdated and radical changes had to be made.[17] In August 1986, five motions were presented at a federal congress of the National Party urging the abandonment of the doctrine of apartheid in favour of a power-sharing strategy, i.e. full participation for all South Africans at all levels, and acceptance of South Africa as one united country.[18] As President F.W. de Klerk was to put it in 1990:

> The change of policy to one of full participation for all South Africans, all races, came about as a result of our realization that the grand design of the old policy, namely to build so many states, to make a little Europe out of South Africa, was not attainable.[19]

The white election of 6 May 1987 gave a mandate to the National Party to pursue this new policy and in a somewhat ambiguous manner the guidelines for the negotiation of a new political dispensation were outlined in 1989. The guidelines emphasized "the protection of the rights of *groups* on the basis of maximum *self-determination* for each group and *joint responsibility* in regard to *matters of common concern* in such a way as to eliminate *domination* of any group by

16. Ibid., pp. 1–2.
17. Ibid., pp. 22–23.
18. See for example Stoffel van der Merwe (Compiler), *NP Position Paper No. 1: Power-Sharing (and related concepts)* (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, July 1986), pp. 1–3.
19. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "The mandate for a 'New Society,'" interview with President Frederik W. de Klerk, *Insight*, 2 July 1990, p. 36.

another."[20] Among other things, the guidelines proposed: (1) own government institutions for whites, coloureds and Indians within the framework of a tricameral Parliament; (2) autonomy of self-governing "homelands"; (3) the right to full-fledged independence on the part of self-governing "homelands"; and (4) own autonomous local government institutions for all "populations groups."[21] The guidelines recognized that it had been a mistake from the beginning to believe that independent homelands for blacks could be the sole solution to South Africa's race problems.

In considering the factors which led to this policy shift, firstly the progress made by the liberation movements in Southern Africa (Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola) had increased the vulnerability of the South African minority regime. Secondly, widespread resistance to apartheid made the policy of "total repression" of the 1960s less effective. Important concessions had to be made to the labour movement, the developing black middle class, youth and students. Thirdly, the economic recession of the 1970s and the growing flight of capital called for liberalization of the economy as had been suggested by liberal criticism since the sixties.[22] Fourthly, the inability of the Nationalist government to respond to these pressures in a positive and effective manner led to increasing tensions within the Afrikaner leadership, the symptoms of which included shifting loyalties and a consequent search for new identities. These developments were precipitated by the events in Eastern Europe and in the ex-Soviet Union. I shall now turn to the two main conflicting movements within the *volk* and their implications for the future of Christian Nationalism.

A Second Trek? "Organized Culture" and the Struggle for the Survival of Afrikanerdom

The concept of a "second trek" is used here to refer to the strategies and processes whereby the conservative wing of Afrikaner nationalism has attempted to overcome the crisis of identity, re-unite the *volk* and reconstitute the Afrikaner nation on foundations deeply

20. Boy Geldenhuys, *Position Paper No. 4: Partition* (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, June 1989), p. 6.
21. Ibid., p. 6.
22. Liberal responses will be dealt with in the following chapters.

rooted in Afrikaner orthodoxy. So far, this development has assumed the form of a movement towards the creation of alternative cultural and political organizations and the reinterpretation of Afrikaner traditions, value system and institutions. This will be referred to as the *Volksunie*. The following account describes the situation in the early 1990s.

The *Volksunie* in South Africa does not constitute a coherent whole. Apart from the parliamentary rightwing parties—the Conservative Party and the *Herstigte Nasionale Party*—there are a variety of cultural and church organizations and shadowy ultra-militant "armies" committed to a "Third Freedom Struggle" for the Afrikaners. More inclined to the idea of a violent "Third Freedom Struggle" are for example the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) led by Eugene Terreblanche, the *Boerestaat Party* (BP) led by Robert van Tonder and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, the *Wit Boereleër* and the *Wit Wolue*. For example the leader of the BP, Van Tonder, was quoted by the Afrikaans newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* as saying:

If you cannot solve your problems at the polls, you have no other option but to organize, mobilize and get power through armed struggle. I trust that in the case of a revolution, we shall have the support of the majority in the SAP [South African Police] and the SADF [South African Defence Forces]. [priv. trans.]23

Although most of these organizations had been active for several decades in South Africa, they became more prominent after President F.W. de Klerk's parliamentary speech on 2 February 1990, which announced the unbanning of African political organizations and the release of political prisoners, and paved the way for a negotiated settlement between the Nationalist government and other political actors. For the purpose of this chapter, I shall focus only on the underlying discourses on culture and identity propagated by these organizations. Underlying all their discourses is the commitment to an orthodox Afrikaner nationalism, very often mixed with anti-Semitic sentiments.24

23. *Vrye Weekblad* 27.04.1990 and *Rapport* 24.06.1990.
24. Various anti-Semitic incidents were reported such as a bomb explosion at a synagogue in Rossettenville where anti-Semitic slogans were sprayed on the walls of the synagogue in red paint (1 July 1990), a pig's head placed at the gate to a synagogue in Brakpan (25 June 1990), and another pig's head placed at the gate of a Jewish family's

In the words of Prof. E.M. Hamman, this trend is articulated by those "Afrikaners who refuse to relinquish their aspirations in exchange for mere South Africanism, and who are concerned about the future of the Afrikaner people."25 It is led by an influential intellectual group which includes Prof. Carel Boshoff, leader of the *Afrikanervolksvag*, M.J.A. Marais, leader of the *Afrikan-* Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the *Herstigte Nasionale Party*, Professor J.C. Schabort, leader of the *Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging* (BBB), and Dr. Ben de Klerk and Prof. E.M. Hamman, founder members of the *Afrikanervolksvag*.26

Hamman, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pretoria from 1970 to 1981, and one of the promoters of the *volkstaat* idea, argued that the leaders of the existing cultural organizations to which most of the Afrikaners are affiliated had taken sides in party politics, a step which caused great confusion amongst Afrikaners and contributed to the identity crisis and threat to the survival of Afrikanerdom.27 Afrikaner identity was threatened by what he called "liberalistic winds of integration," i.e. integration in sport, universities, parks, theatres, hotels, restaurants and central city areas as well as in parliament, the cabinet and civil service.28

Against this background, Hamman proposed the founding of the *Afrikanervolkswag* (the Afrikaner People's Guard),29 an organization which would give priority to the interests of the Afrikaner and of the "white man," reiterate Afrikaner ideals, national pride and will to survive, and inculcate "the conviction that defeatism and pessimism will get us nowhere".30

Parktown home (18 June 1990) with the words "Jews our" and "Swastika" on it. (Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression—IBIIR, "Memorandum on extreme rightwing organizations in South Africa," August 1990, pp. 2–3).
25. E.M. Hamman, "Proposal to establish the *Afrikanervolkswag*," undated, pp. 1–2.
26. Dr. A.P. Treurnicht, former leader of the Conservative Party, participated in this group before his death.
27. Hamman, op cit.
28. Ibid.
29. Its "founding principles and aims" document stated that "the Afrikanervolkswag… will maintain the struggle for national survival, which will involve Afrikaners from all walks of life and call on them to combine forces in a cultural organization which is striving towards their continued existence as a sovereign nation."
30. Ibid., pp. 2–3.

Those of us here present in large numbers this morning wish to found the *Afrikanervolkswag*, a voluntary cultural organization, formed on a family basis, with no party political affiliations, its principal aim being to mount guard over the entire sphere of the Afrikaner's existence and continuing survival as a distinctive nation, and including also fellow citizens from other cultures who have chosen to identify themselves fully with the Afrikaner people.[31]

The aims of the *Afrikanervolkswag* involve: (1) to strengthen the Afrikaners' sense of nation and awareness of their unique position as a white nation in Africa; (2) to preserve their own language and identity in their own fatherland; (3) to maintain and strengthen the religious and moral foundations of Afrikaner culture within the context of Calvinistic principles; (4) to promote national consciousness in the community, families and schools; (5) to promote appreciation for Afrikaner history; (6) to fight for the Afrikaner's right to live and rule in his own land as a free and white nation in Africa; and (7) to encourage creative and performing arts as a means of expressing Afrikaner ideals.[32] It thus emerged as the "cultural wing" of the Afrikaner Right, formed in opposition to the mostly government-supporting *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (FAK).[33]

Similarly, a group of right-wing Afrikaners created the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) in 1974 under the leadership of Eugene Terreblanche, a former police sergeant and member of Prime Minister John Vorster's bodyguard.[34] Its objectives as outlined in its policy document are: (1) to maintain and carry out consistently the policy of separate development; (2) to

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31. Ibid., p. 1.

32. The *Afrikanervolkswag*, "Founding principles and aims," undated, p. 2.

33. In 1988, the *Afrikanervolkswag* organized its own Great Trek festivities with the support of the CP and the AWB, in opposition to the official centenary of the Great Trek of 1838, organized by the FAK.

34. In 1989, Terreblanche lost some of his personal popularity after his name was linked with that of *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allen. A dissident group broke away to form the *Gesuiverde Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (Purified Afrikaner Resistance Movement), which later became the New AWB and then the *Boere-Weerstandsbeweging* (Boer Resistance Movement). For the same reasons Professors Chris Jooste and Alkmaar Swart created the *Boere Vryheidsbeweging* (Boer Freedom Movement) on 23 May 1989. (*Beeld* 11.07.1990, 25.06.1990, 13.06.1990; *The Star* 13.06.1990; *Business Day* 25.06.1990)

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fight for a nation-state in which the president is elected by whites; (3) to "consolidate all Christian whites" who are prepared to say that the coloureds are a nation in their own right and that their geographical territory would be located in the Western Cape; and that the Indian population "is an extraneous body in the South African tissue and cannot lay claim to an independent parliament, to sharing the government with the Whites, or to having a territory of their own."[35]

The document also explains the meanings of the AWB's symbol which consists of three interlinked 7s, black on a red background—strongly reminiscent of the Nazi Swastika. Terreblanche claims that the biblical three sevens of the emblem represent completion and final victory, as opposed to the three sixes, the symbol of the Anti-Christ. The colour red symbolizes "the blood of the Christian, of the white man and of our forefathers spilled over centuries to ensure our survival."[36] The white is the ideal of racial purity and the pride of the white race and the black represents "valour," "the heraldic meaning of the colour."

In 1987 Professor J.C. Schabort, formerly a staff member of the Rand Afrikaans University, established the *Blanke Berrydingsbeweging* (BBB — White Freedom Movement). The movement was banned under Emergency Regulations but in response the *Blanke Nasionale Beer*, Both organizations were unbanned on 2 February 1990. Many amongst Afrikaner youth joined the Conservative Party.[37] Active amongst Afrikaner youth was the *Odal Clan*, formed in 1979 by Rudolph Schmidt, a former member of the Hitler youth, to recruit white children to work for racial domination and white purity.[38]

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35. In a letter dated 21 January 1982 addressed to Mr Daniel Britz of the Northwestern University, E. Terreblanche wrote: "although this organization (the party called *Blanke Volkstaat Party* and this has been registered with our Department of Internal Affairs." (Letter from Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the AWB, Pretoria, 21 January 1982, to Mr Daniel Britz, Bibliographer of Africana, Northwestern University Library. The letter includes a copy of the policy document outlining the aims of the AWB.)

36. ABW's policy document, op cit.

37. *Pretoria News* 08.05.1990; *The Star*, 08.05.1990.

38. *Rand Daily Mail* 21.11.1979 and *Sunday Times* 18.11.1979.

Several vigilante groups aimed at patrolling towns and protecting whites were also formed such as the *Blanke Front*[39] (White Front or BF) in Pretoria in June 1990, the *Blanke Veiligheid* (White Security) in Welkom in February 1990, the *Brandwag* (Sentinel/Sentry) in Brits, the *Flaminke* (Flamingos) in Odendaalsrus and Virginia in May 1990, and the *Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskapswag* (West Rand White Community Guard) in April 1990.[40]

The ultimate goal of the *Afrikanervolkswag* and other right-wing organizations such as the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) is to reconstitute the Afrikaner nation with new geo-political and economic foundations, within the confines of the doctrine of Christian National Education. This is to be achieved through "total territorial apartheid" or "partition," i.e. the division of South Africa into two or more separate states, a process which would necessarily imply division of land and a resettlement of people.[41] As an alternative to a unitary state, these organizations strive for the re-creation of a sovereign Afrikaner state under Afrikaner rule, populated by Afrikaners and other white people who identify themselves with Afrikaner ideals, guided by the Afrikaner's Protestant heritage and controlled by the principles of Christian National philosophy.

In April 1993, a day after the funeral of the assassinated leader of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani, a secret "Committee of Generals" (COG) was formed in Pretoria, to seize control of the right-wing constituency.[42] The Committee included former senior officers from the South African Police and South African Defence Force.[43] Although the aims of the Committee were not clearly stated, it was known that the generals aimed to establish an Afrikaner *volkstaat*. Note that Groenewald has been a leading figure of the *Volkeen-*

39. Its leader Oscar Hartung had also formed the *Magsaksie Afrikaner- Nasional- isme* (Power Action Afrikaner Nationalism), *Beeld* 14.06.1990.

40. *Pretoria News* 18.06.1990; *Pretoria News* 15.06.1990; *Beeld* 14.06.1990. *Beeld* 02.03.1990; *The Star* 28.03.1990; and *Sunday Star* 24.06.1990; *Beeld* 10.04.1990, *Business Day* 09.04.1990, *Beeld* 29.03.1990, *Rapport* 27.04.1990.

41. For a discussion of this model see, for example, Geldenhuys, op cit.

42. *Weekly Mail*, 30 April to 6 May 1993, pp. 1–2.

43. The Committee includes General Constand Viljoen, former chief of the South African Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Lothar Neething, former deputy commissioner of police, Lieutenant-General Cobus Visser, former Central Intelligence Division chief, Lieutenant-General Koos Bischoff, former army chief of operations, Lieutenant-General Tienie Groenewald, former head of military intelligence. (Ibid., p. 1.)

heidkommittee (VEKOM), an umbrella organization of groupings committed to the establishment of an Afrikaner homeland wedging northwards from Pretoria and encompassing large areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, and also a member of the northern South Africans Group (COSAG) involved in national negotiations,[44] COSAG set itself to lead the right wing from parliamentary politics towards acts of defiance ranging from passive resistance and political mobilization of the labour movement to armed struggle. It was claimed that (in times of crisis Afrikaners have traditionally been led by generals.[45]

The *Boerestaat Party* in particular has the restoration of the old Boer Republics—Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal—as its stated goal.[46] The *Oranjewerkersvereniging* (Orange Workers Society) together with the *Orandee Ontwikkelingskorps* (Orandee Development Corps) aims to establish a white "homeland" or *volkstaat* called Orandee around the Orange River, comprising large parts of the Northern Cape and the Orange Free State. The state would embrace towns such as Upington, Saldanha Bay, Graaff-Reinet, Colesburg and Beaufort West.[47] Only whites would have work opportunities and no political parties would be allowed in such a state.[48] Liberalism would be systematically rejected.[49] Note that the effects of liberalism on the tradition of Christian National Education became a matter of concern to the right wing. Boshoff sees liberalism as one of the factors leading to the decline of Christian National philosophy:

Many Afrikaners have changed beyond belief. Liberalism has also taken its toll amongst us and our characteristic Christian National philosophy has been weakened to the same extent. As long ago as 1967...the nature of our edu-

44. COSAG was an organization constituted by right-wing groups and some home-land leaders who opposed the attempts by the National Party to strike a unilateral deal with the African National Congress.

45. *Weekly Mail*, op cit, p. 2.

46. IBIR, "Memorandum...", op cit, p. 13.

47. Note that the concept of a "white homeland" based on total territorial segregation was rejected as not practicable by the regimes of D.F. Malan, J.G. Strijdom and H. Verwoerd.

48. *Beeld* 13.06.1990; *The Star* 20.08.1986.

49. Boshoff, op cit, p. 10.

cational policy was indicated as broadly national. "Christ-ian" and "national" are words that have changed in mean-ing and are no longer compatible with Afrikaner tradition. For instance, "Christianity" has come to mean a kind of humane sympathy, even an irreligious or communistic Christianity bound up with integration, whereas separate development is condemned as heretical; "nationalism" is *no longer a nation's pride in itself, it is a broader geo-graphical nationalism, for instance South African national-ism.* This onslaught on the Afrikaner's philosophy is weak-ening the bonds which bind our youth to their own people and is fostering a spirit of internationalism. [My emphasis]50

Several committees have been working on an economic strategy, geographic delimitation and a suitable political dispensation for the establishment of the new Afrikaner state.51

After the NGK decided to open its doors to all races and renounce apartheid within the church, a group of rightwing clergymen formed their own church, the *Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk* (Afrikaans Protestant Church or APK), under the leadership of Nico van Rens-burg. This church is guided by traditional Calvinist values and is ex-clusively for whites.52 This is also the case of the *Gemeente van die Verbondsvolk* (Congregation of Chosen People), a far rightwing reli-gious grouping based in the Western Transvaal, which adheres to the belief that the "twelve lost tribes of Israel" were not Jews, but Afrikaners.53

However, the *Volkstaat* movement has been marked by uncertain-ties and tensions amongst its protagonists, particularly since the emergence of General Constand Viljoen as its most influential leader. Since then two views of an Afrikaner *Volkstaat* have been advocated

50. Ibid, p. 8.
51. Note that this has been a matter of great controversy within the *volk*. in his speech to the second congress of the *Afrikanervolkswag* in 1986, Boshoff suggested that the greatest geographic delimitation that could possibly be considered would be "the white areas of the Transvaal, of the Free State and of Northern Natal, the Northern Cape, the Cape Midlands as far as the coast and then from Port Elizabeth to the west of Mossel Bay, and the southern parts of SWA" (Boshoff, op cit, p. 14).
52. IBIIR, "Memorandum...," op cit, p. 6.
53. IBIIR, "Memorandum...," op cit, p. 15.

within the movement, based on two different concepts of self-deter-mination. One is advocated by those loyal to General Viljoen, who favours an Afrikaner self-determination and identity within the gen-eral framework of South Africanism, more or less in line with the concept of self-determination accepted during the 1993-94 constitu-tional negotiations for the Zulu Kingdom. The details have not yet been spelled out. Another is shared by those associated with Eugene Terreblanche, who have been pressing for an independent white *Volkstaat*. There was speculation that a concept of self-determination as proclaimed by Viljoen's followers could still be negotiated and ac-commodated after the 1994 elections.54

The New Intelligentsia and the Search for a New Identity

Developments in recent history clearly indicate a growing ferment in the political and intellectual thinking of the young "enlightened" Afrikaner elite. These developments have assumed the character of a new nationalist movement, which articulated criticisms of aspects of the then government policy and, in some cases, the rejection of apartheid's fundamental premise: racial division. This new national-ism attempted to reconstruct Afrikaner identity within the frame-work of what I have called "New South Africanism," i.e in co-exis-tence and reconciliation with other South African groups. It came from the most enlightened sectors of the Afrikaner intelligentsia and youth on the Afrikaans campuses. Feeding into this movement were many Afrikaner academics who, through their contributions in dis-cussion groups, publications, speeches, journal and newspapers arti-cle, have shaped liberal and reformist thinking amongst Afrikaners.55

54. After his election as the leader of the Volksfront in 1993, General Constand Viljoen became popular in the Freedom Alliance, opposed to the multi-party negotia-tions, and mainly as the leader of the Freedom Front. The Volksfront was an umbrella organisation of all Afrikaner groupings committed to the idea of an Afrikaner *Volkstaat*. The Freedom Front emerged as a splinter of the Afrikaner Volksfront to struggle for a Volkstaat through constitutional means and to participate in the 1994 elections.
55. For example the Wiehahn Commission proposed liberalization of labour policy in South Africa; the Cillie Commission criticized Bantu Education and called for reform in black education; the De Lange Commission challenged Verwoerdian education dis-course and proposed new guiding principles and educational concepts for education of black...

As De Klerk has pointed out, the academics' contribution is their provision of the scientific rationale for the necessity of change."[56]

At a congress, held in Johannesburg in 1980, a group of Afrikaner students decided to break away from the conservative politics of the *Afrikaanse Studentebond* and found the Association of Political Students (Polstu)—the *vertigte* Afrikaans students' political body,[57] with membership open to all races. Polstu wanted to provide a political outlet for all Afrikaner students and youth willing to fight for a just and free South Africa.[58] It stressed in its strategy the need for "conscientization of Afrikaans students to prepare them for a new South Africa."[59] Polstu wanted a Bill of Rights, freedom of movement, speech and association, economic justice, and full citizenship for all South Africans.[60] Most importantly, the founders of Polstu held an optimistic approach to Afrikanerdom and African nationalism and believed that these two movements could reach a compromise before resorting to a full-scale war.[61]

At the same time, student leaders at the University of Stellenbosch issued a statement calling for the elimination of all legislation that separated South Africans on racial grounds, namely the Population Registration Act, the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, the Pass Laws and the Group Areas Act, which they described as "basic ele-

56. De Klerk,op cit, p. 57.

57. The *Afrikaanse Studente Bond* emphasized cultural rather than political action.

58. *Eastern Province Herald*, 15.09.1980 and 18.09.1980; *Citizen*, 08.03.1980; *The Star*, 22.07.1980 and 08.08.1980.

59. *Eastern Province Herald*, 15.09.1980.

60. Dominant apartheid ideologies had considerable impact on the consciousness and practices of university students. The predominant sentiments expressed by the largest organizations, representing Afrikaner, English-speaking and black students in the 1970s, accurately reflected a more idealist version of those ideologies. For example the Afrikaner students organized in the *Afrikaanse Studentebond* sought a racially separated society, in which each community would be able to express its values in all its institutions, including the schools. The black students organized in the South African Students Organization (SASO) also proposed to separate themselves from other racial communities. For this reason the emergence of student organizations which pursued non-racialist organizational politics such as Polstu and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) represented a considerable shift in student politics and were a matter of great concern for the government of the time.

61. Polstu's initiative was met with massive protest by right-wing students on Afrikaans campuses (*Rand Daily Mail*, August 12, 1980, and *Sunday Tribune*, 21.08.1980).

ments of a 'sick society.'"[62] Underlying this incipient intellectual rebellion within the *volk* there seemed to be the idea that cultural or linguistic affinity need not determine political thinking and allegiance. This constituted a denial of the role attributed by orthodox Afrikaner nationalists to "organized culture," in binding together and solidifying the Afrikaner nation. "Organized culture," initially seen as minimizing political tensions within the *volk*, came to be seen as compatible with political and ideological difference.

"We must make a new beginning. We must make a new start to a new future."

The above words were pronounced by the State President P.W. Botha at Moria on Easter Sunday, 1984 (S. van der Merwe, NP... *and what about the black people?* (Cape Town: Federal Information Service of the National Party, April 1985), p. 16.

In so far as the doctrine of Christian National Education was concerned, the emerging movements examined above reflected the crisis of Christian Nationalism and its philosophical and religious foundations. They expressed the development of a liberal discourse within Afrikaner ranks as manifested in the De Lange Report (1982), and the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) and the Curriculum Model for South Africa (ACUMSA), both of 1991.[63] Traditional notions of "total racial segregation" and separate and unequal education were gradually being phased out in favour of concepts of unity in cultural diversity, separate-but-equal education for all and education of equal quality. Of considerable importance was the shift from the concept of Christian National Education[64] as formulated by the fathers of

62. *Eastern Province Herald*, 18.09.1980.

63. Department of National Education, *Education Renewal Strategy: Discussion Document [ERS]* (Pretoria: DNE, June 1991); Committee of Heads of Education Departments, *A Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa [ACUMSA]* (Pretoria: DNE, 1991).

64. Some of the comments on the draft report of the Work Committee of the De Lange report capture nicely its impact:

The tendency in South African education in the post-war period has been to stress diversity at the expense of commonality, so much so that the people of South Africa find themselves unilaterally defined not as one nation but as several nations who happen to live in a common geographical area - in this regard the use of inhabitants (*elke inwoner*) rather than citizens...is interesting. This diver-

Afrikaner nationalism to the concept of Christian National Education as proposed by the new intelligentsia.

While maintaining the Christian character of education, the new approach to Christian Nationalism shifted the focus from the "national" character of each cultural group or ethnicity to the national character of South Africa as a whole. This can be illustrated by the proceedings of the De Lange Commission, appointed in 1981 to investigate strategies to minimize the increasing crisis in education. The Commission convened on 13 February 1981 to discuss the comments received from various bodies on the draft proposals of educational principles and policy formulated by the Work Committee. One of these comments warned that generally speaking the Committee had not given enough emphasis to the Christian philosophy of life and had also totally refrained from constructing "a principle which strives at fostering a national spirit (South Africanism)."[65] Other comments proposed alternative formulations which included the idea of nationalism/South Africanism and, in one instance, a request for a principle in which the fostering of patriotism or a common South Africanism could be incorporated.[66]

The Commission decided to settle for more general formulations which did not make reference to any national character, South

sity has been legally enforced by a multitude of laws and regulations, and in education by the establishment of racially and linguistically segregated institutions almost invariably of a totally closed nature. Similarly, the curricula offerings required within these segregated institutions have also been determined unilaterally by the "white" decision-makers, the result being a wide-ranging distortion of curricula content in favour of an exclusively White Afrikaner Nationalist definition of reality. Moreover, attempts have been made to create distinctive cultures for each of these unilaterally defined "nations," and for this purpose education has served merely as one of the agencies involved in the process. Unfortunately for the proponents of this strategy, the great mass of South Africa's people does not share the government's interpretation of the existence of these groupings as the fundamental reality of the South African situation, and therefore rejects as illegitimate and discriminatory all attempts to create, promote and maintain such "separate identities," especially if the purpose of the exercise is seen to be basically one of protecting the interests of only one section of the population. (Quoted in HSRC, Report of the Work Committee, op cit, pp. 228–229.)

65. Ibid, p. 130.
66. Ibid, p. 133 and p. 138.

Africanism or patriotism, but made provision for recognition for a common culture.[67] This view was held by its Chairman, J.P. de Lange:

Our life situation is one of many peoples and cultures in interaction. Two processes in action can be observed: one is of an assimilatory nature and one is of a primordial or pluralistic nature.

As far as assimilation is concerned there is some evidence of a common South African culture evolving. A common core is larger between some of the cultures than between others. For instance the common core between Afrikaans and English versions of Western culture is larger than the common core between say the English and the Indian culture groups. The extent to which these common cores constitute part of the common South African core is a difficult matter to judge. However, the evolving South African core culture is dependent upon these diverse common cores moving nearer to each other.[68]

The main report outlined three important principles concerning culture and education. First, it stated that education must afford recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants.[69]

Second, it stated that education must give recognition to the freedom of choice of individual parents and the organization in society.[70] With regard to language policy, the report favoured the use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction during an introductory phase and thereafter of either English or Afrikaans.[71] Whites were to be given the option of choosing between Afrikaans and English as the

67. Ibid, p. 133. This omission must not be taken at face value as it indicates an increasing questioning of the orthodox overtones of Christian Nationalism. Subsequent reports clearly indicate a marked shift from traditional notions of Christian National Education.

68. J.P. de Lange, "The task of a school system," in M. Shear (ed.), South Africa's Crisis in Education—The Senate Special Lectures (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1978), p.113.

69. J.P. de Lange, Chairman, Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education: Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1981), p. 33.

70. Ibid, p. 14.

71. Ibid, pp. 142–144.

medium within a variety of options, depending on their proficiency in these languages and their mother tongue.[72]

Most of these principles seemed to meet some of the concerns of the various stakeholders in education, including the black community. However, the attempts by government to translate these principles into meaningful educational practice fell short. A major issue which received strong reaction from the government was the decision by the Commission not to engage with the philosophical connotations of the "principles of education" which it recommended. Presumably the government was concerned here with the Christian National foundations of education in South Africa. As such it reaffirmed that it stood by "the principles of Christian character and the broad national character of education as formulated in…the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act 39 of 1967), in regard to White education and as applied in practice or laid down in legislation with regard to other population groups."[73] It stressed that any changes or renewal in the provision of education should take these principles into account in regard to the right of self-determination for each "population group."[74] It also emphasized that in terms of its policy each "population group" should have its own schools and its own education authority/department and that the principles of freedom of choice for the individual and for parents in educational matters and in the choice of career would only be acceptable within the framework of separate schools for each "population group." It stated that all decisions to be taken in the light of the report would have to take due account of, and fit in with, its segregationist constitutional framework.[75] From the government's reaction it thus became clear that the doctrine of Christian National Education was still regarded as the basis for the provision of education in South Africa. The chairman of the *Transvaal Onderwysersvereniging* (TO), Professor Hennie Maree, issued a statement which emphasized that teachers should be trained on the basis of their own nationality and culture.[76] The TO had been under the impression that the HSRC investigation into edu-

72. Ibid, p. 143.

73. Interim Memorandum on the Report of the Human Sciences Research Council on the Inquiry into the Provision of Education in the RSA (Pretoria: October 1991), p. 3.

74. Ibid., p. 3.

75. Ibid, p. 3.

76. *Cape Times* 30.06.1981.

cation would be based on parallel research for different "population groups" with each group's educational needs handled separately.[77]

Despite general dissatisfaction from black people, the government went on to implement the principle of "own and general (common) affairs," which reinforced the principle of school and curriculum separation.[78] Matters such as education at all levels became "own affairs" of the White, Coloured and Indian population groups respectively.[79] This meant that all educational matters that related solely to a specific group were "own affairs" of the population group concerned.[80] Thus education as "an own affair" had to take place within "the context of the particular group's own culture and frame of reference."[81] The problem with these policies is that they attempted to implement new educational principles within the framework of apartheid education or segregated schooling, where race represented a major feature of the provision of education.

In an interview given to *Insight* in 1990, President F.W. de Klerk declared that he hoped to eradicate discrimination in South Africa within six months and he wished to pave the way for a "multicultural" society based on the US model.[82] The political framework for such a society was defined as a system of full power-sharing with a built-in system of protection for minorities.[83] This concept was pursued by the liberal and reformist Afrikaner establishments and embodied in subsequent commission reports and policy documents on the future of education in South Africa, namely the ERS and

77. Ibid. See also Progressive Federal Party—National Advisory Committee on Education, "Education cuttings comments," No. 48, September 1981, p. 2.

78. Government's policy at the time was based on the assumption that individuals exist in groups, i.e. individuals must have a group identity, and that none of the groups should be seen as a majority. As such South Africa came to be seen as a country of minorities which must agree to live together without losing their group identity in one state where no group dominates another.

79. See the 1983 Education White Paper, p. 5.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. De Borchgrave, op cit, p. 36. This idea was also articulated as a basis for a "power-sharing" concept in Stoffel van der Merwe, op cit, p. 1.

83. President de Klerk paraphrased Madison in the 10th Federalist Paper where he referred to the "superior force of an interested and overbearing majority as the cause of instability and injustice" (De Borchgrave, op cit, p. 37).

ACUMSA.[84] These documents urged "positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants."[85] Attention was also given to the principle of mother tongue education as pedagogically valid during an introductory phase and thereafter either English or Afrikaans. Despite this reformist approach the state insisted on its principle of "own and general (common) affairs," which reinforced cultural, school and curriculum separation.[86] The policy proposed by the 1983 White Paper prevailed.

The ERS and the ACUMSA documents represented however the most significant shift from traditional state education policies in that they questioned the acceptability of the framework within which education policy and practice had operated. For example the ERS document stated in its introduction that the existing education model enjoyed "little support among the majority of South Africans who find its racial base, as expressed in separate education departments for the various population groups, unacceptable."[87] It suggested that against this background solutions had to be found through which the education system became acceptable to the majority of South Africans and through which equal educational opportunities for all entrants to the education system could be achieved.[88]

The ERS document also noted that the present education model did not measure up to the principles of "equality of opportunity," "balance of commonality and diversity" and "freedom of choice." Race, which was still entrenched in the existing educational model,

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84. This should however be stated with caution. The education crisis was one of the major problems facing South Africa which was not adequately addressed by President de Klerk during the earlier years of his administration. De Klerk's policy was characterized by: (1) a slippery movement towards desegregation of white state schools and white tertiary institutions; (2) the recognition in 1989 by the government that it was unable to implement a ten-year plan for greater parity in education, which was announced in 1986; and (3) an increase of the share dedicated to education in the 1990/91 budget (the largest single item or a fifth of total spending).

85. P. Bennell et al, *The Education Renewal Strategy: An Agenda for Negotiations* (University of the Witwatersrand: EPU, February 1992); P. Bennell & N. Swainson, *Education and the 'New Right' in South Africa* (University of the Witwatersrand: EPU Occasional paper, 1990); and the De Lange Report, op cit.
86. See the 1983 Education White Paper (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1983).
87. ERS, 1991, para. 1.4.
88. Ibid, para. 1.6.

was not an acceptable basis for accommodating diversity. Instead, the ERS recommended that "race should not feature in structuring the provision of education in a future education model for South Africa and that justice and educational opportunities must be ensured."[89] It also acknowledged that diversity in South Africa was a reality and would, "together with unity, have to be accommodated in a new model irrespective of the future constitution."[90]

In this perspective, the ERS recommended: (1) that the new education model should visibly promote and express national unity and freedom of association; (2) that adequate satisfactory allowance should be made for the accommodation of diversity (such as language, religion or culture); (3) that together with the accommodation of diversity, allowance would have to be made for decentralized control to eliminate bureaucratic inertia and to encourage community involvement; and (4) that the new education model should provide for the existence of a central education authority as well as departments of education, possibly regionally based.[91]

The principles formulated for the provision of education were translated into specific aims relevant to the various education phases and types (e.g. pre-tertiary phase, junior and senior primary phases, etc.) in *A Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa*, produced by the Committee of Heads of Education Departments. For example pre-tertiary education was to develop in learners "an awareness of themselves as people among other people, and their responsibilities towards themselves, their fellow human beings, their environment and their country." This included not only the principle of human rights and the adoption of values accepted by society but also the right to analyze critically and to evaluate and question.

In relation to language, the report stated that the multilingual nature of broad South African society required the acquaintance of all learners with at least three languages (Afrikaans, English and a regionally dominant African language) during the course of their school career.[92] Translated into policy, this would mean for example that pupils in Durban could be required to learn Afrikaans, English and Zulu.

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89. Ibid, para. 2.1, p. 20.
90. Ibid, para. 2.2, p. 22.
91. Ibid, pp. 22–23.
92. ACUMSA, p. 27.

However, the most significant shift in approach, concepts and educational principles appeared in the ERS II published in 1992.[93] This document appropriated most of the education objectives pursued by the main oppositional organizations,[94] including the ANC and the NECC. These included: (1) equal opportunities; (2) the promotion of national unity; (3) the recognition and accommodation of language, cultural, religious and other legitimate interests; (4) the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour and gender; (5) the provision of personpower for national needs; (6) the forming of whole human beings; and (7) the sharing of responsibilities for the provision of education between the state and interested sectors, such as parents and the broader community, the organized teaching profession, industry and commerce and other employer groups, as well as learners.[95]

The document also noted that the existing education model did not measure up to this set of objectives and enjoyed little support among the majority of South Africans because it was based on race as expressed in its structure.[96]

This is not so much because the education system attempts to accommodate diversity in society, but rather because an unacceptable and educationally irrelevant basis for accommodating diversity, namely race, has been used in providing education instead of different bases arising naturally from society itself. This has given rise to the demand for one education authority, both as a guarantee against unacceptable statutorily-prescribed ways of accommodating diversity based on race, and also as a means of ensuring equality of expenditure on learners in various education departments.[97]

Thus the ERS II suggested a new set of principles for the basis of a new education system. First, the document reiterated the principle that race should not feature in structuring the provision of education

93. Department of National Education, *Education Renewal Strategy (ERS II)*, (Pretoria: DNE, November 1992).
94. See Chapter Nine, "African nationalism, schooling and identity...."
95. ERS II, p. 17 and p. 24.
96. Ibid., p. 8.
97. Ibid., p. 16.

in a future education system for South Africa. Second, it suggested that a new education system should promote and express national unity. Further, bearing in mind the non-racial basis of a new education system, provision should be made "for the accommodation of diversity based on internationally recognized and educationally relevant basic human rights such as mother tongue education, freedom of religion and the practice and transmission of an own culture."[98] Freedom of association should also form a cornerstone of the new education system.

This was the first policy document emanating from the state structures to embody concerns with promoting national unity in its wider sense, i.e. South Africanism. In contrast to previous documents, the ERS II also emphasized the need not for reforming the existing education system but for building a new education model based on a new set of educational principles. This new education system was to provide for the existence of a central education authority and regionally-based departments of education. The central authority would bear responsibility for policy on norms and standards, for categories of institutions of a more national character which would enjoy a very large degree of autonomy. Other functions relating to education would fall under the jurisdiction of the regional departments.[99] Different categories of schools falling under different levels of management autonomy and accommodating diversity wherever it was needed were to be established.

The Race/Class Dilemma in the Public School System

The crisis of Christian National Education in South Africa was also illustrated by state reform initiatives in the public school system and its concomitant discourses. The Nationalist government adopted more subtle desegregation strategies to shift colour boundaries within the public school system while preserving white privilege and maintaining traditional patterns of school ethos. In this context, a formula was sought in attempts to selectively desegregate schools through privatization and devolution of decision-making to school communities.

98. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
99. Ibid., pp. 23–24.

The Minister of Education and Culture (House of Assembly), Mr. Piet Clase, announced in September 1989 the decision to allow the conversion of the Johannesburg High School for Girls (JHSG) into a private, co-educational non-racial high school, known formally by what had been a nickname for years—Barnato Park High School. This school serves the neighbouring communities of Berea, Yeoville and Hillbrow.[100] A fee system was introduced and the state was to provide a subsidy of up to 45% of the school's operating costs.[101] For those parents, pupils and teaching staff, particularly the Save Our School (SOS) campaigners, who had fought the decision by the state to close Johannesburg High School for Girls because white pupil numbers had dropped and who petitioned the Department of Education and Culture to open JHSG to all races, the creation of a new private school came as something of a defeat. However, it became clear that the decision regarding JHSG was to become a general strategy for addressing the crisis of most white schools which could not keep acceptable white enrolments.

In March 1990, Mr. Piet Clase announced that his department was considering introducing a formula whereby white public schools would be able to decide which pupils to admit. The new formula was presented to various white educational bodies by 15 June 1990 for comment. The announcement made by the Minister, characterized by the press as a "dramatic turn for mixed schools," initially gave the following options to all schools seeking to desegregate: (1) to privatize and then receive a 100% state subsidy (the highest state subsidy for private schools was 45%); (2) to re-register with another state subsidy—black, coloured or Indian—and to negotiate with the responsible minister a status of "open" school; or (3) to become a multiracial state school in "free settlement areas."

Having accepted the principle of "open" education, the Minister proceeded to outline the conditions under which schools would determine their own admissions policies and theoretically provide mechanisms by which they could become non-racial. His proposals became known as the "Clase's polls." Three models were offered to parents:

100. Sue Valentine, "Barnato School," *The Star*, 9 December 1989.
101. David Crary, "The state is fostering illiteracy among our kids," *Sowetan*, 6 December 1989.

Model A: To close the existing state school and apply for registration as a private school with state funding reduced to a level of 45% of operating costs and decide its own admissions policy;

Model B: To remain a state school with a different admissions policy within the framework of the constitution, with the same subsidy, provided that the majority of pupils would remain white and provision would not be made for additional facilities, accommodation or transport schemes;

Model C: To close the existing school and apply to become a "State-aided" school, operated by a managing body with a subsidy of 75% of operating costs for staff salaries.

However, under the guidelines issued to schools, to change a school to any one of these models, 72% of parents in a poll of at least 80% would have to sanction it before it could be adopted and even then the minister would have the right to veto their decision.[102]

Traditional education principles would remain in force within the proposed models, particularly the Christian National Education concept, the traditional values and ethos of the school, mother-tongue (English or Afrikaans) instruction, the use of an approved curriculum "which has its point of departure the culture of the target group," and preference to pupils from the feeder area of the school (predominantly white). The second model was to be introduced in 1991 and the other two models in 1992. In an attempt to encourage the policy of free settlement, the government linked opening schools with "free settlement areas."[103]

Clase however justified his proposals on different grounds, particularly on what he called "practical difficulties," namely the inconvenience stemming from the geographical siting of schools, transport difficulties for black children, problems associated with mother-tongue tuition, changes in the ethos of schools where other groups gained admission, social tensions and the provision of additional staff, and resistance from white parents who feared that desegregation would lower education standards.[104]

102. *Argus* 3 July 1990.
103. *Natal Mercury*, 30 September 1989.
104. The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Piet Clase, in the House of Assem-

One of the principles suggested by the De Lange report was that "Education should afford positive recognition to the commonality as well as the diversity of the religious and cultural way of life of the inhabitants."[105] Within this framework, private schools appeared as the institutions which could pursue particular educational philosophies and cater for cultural diversity. As O'Dowd pointed out:

It is recognized that in view of the great complexity of the South African population it will not be feasible for the public education system to accommodate the cultural interests of all groups. In order to ensure that those groups which are too small or too unusual to be accommodated in the public system are not deprived of their rights, the right of any self-constituted group to establish private schools is recognized and it is further recognized that those who choose to make use of private schools must not, on that account, be deprived of their fair share of the public funds available for education.[106]

Similarly, De Lange affirmed that state schools should be open to all if they were to provide positive recognition of the commonality of all South Africans. Racially divided schools could not but attribute primacy to or over-emphasize diversity. However, Clase's proposals provided for a systematic privatization (Model A) or semi-privatization (Model C) of public schools as a means of affording "positive recognition" to cultural diversity, which contradictorily represent indeed a subtle way of reproducing the legacy of apartheid by promoting and maintaining "separate identities."

In November 1989, the SAIRR reported that 196 white schools had been closed and that remaining white schools had more than 250 000 vacant places, while an estimated one million black children had no schools to attend. Of those schools, a handful had been given to the education departments for Indians and Coloureds, but most had been given to other government agencies, while 42 remained unused.[107] According to the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly in 1988, a high school in Bloemfontein had been let to a private construction company as a block of offices, and

105. Van der Stoep, *Report of the Work Committee . . .*, op cit, p. 224.
106. M.C. O'Dowd quoted in the De Lange report, op cit, p. 71.
107. *Sowetan*, 6.12.1989.

one school in Lichtenburg was being rented by a farmers' association. In Johannesburg, La Rochelle Primary School was leased to the SADF; John Ware and Booysens primary schools were leased to the Post Office, Hoërskool Hans Moore in Benoni was under consideration for alienation to Metal Industries Corporation.[108] Further, of the 1 170 000 places at white schools throughout the country, only 871 000 or 74% were being taken up.[109]

The announcement of the proclamation of the first four free settlement areas by the State President in 1989 failed to include details about provision for schooling and implicitly sanctioned Clase's policy.[110] However, Clase's policy was doomed to failure for several reasons. First, as was common practice among apartheid officials, they excluded the black majority from decisions about where their children should go to school while allowing the minority to make decisions for them. Second, they did not constitute a departure from the segregationist tradition based on Christian National Education. There were also other important factors such as: (1) the changing political economy as the racial mix of suburbs changed and as dwindling populations threatened high schools in small towns with the exodus of white families to major urban areas;[111] (2) the increasing struggle for open education waged by progressive parents, teachers and pupils and by organizations such as Save Our School (SOS) and All Schools for All People (ASAP); and (3) the realization of the heavy price of separate schooling based on the concept of "own affairs." Note also that in April 1989 twenty-one of South Africa's oldest and best known white schools formed an association of "open" schools to fight for the right to admit pupils without reference to race or creed.[112]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the crisis of identity within the *volk* as part of the broader crisis of the apartheid system assumed the form of a dispute between old and new values and philosophical

108. *The Sunday Star*, May 22, 1988.
109. *The Star*, 25.11.1989.
110. *The Star*, 1.12: 1989.
111. See for example Claire Pickard-Cambridge, *Sharing the Cities* (Johannesburg:
112. SAIRR, 1988).
112. *Argus*, 23 May 1989.

bases of Afrikaner nationalism. On the one hand, there were attempts to reconstitute the eroding Afrikaner identity on the basis of old-fashioned and orthodox nationalist philosophy and practices. On the other, efforts were made to reformulate traditional foundations of Afrikaner nationalism in accordance with the pressures and the demands of the changing South African society. As a consequence of this trend, the policy of white exclusivity and its Christian National Education foundations were increasingly wearing away from mainstream Afrikaner thinking. This was shown by reference to government education reports and developments within the public and private school systems in the last years of the apartheid government.

Chapter Seven

Liberalism, Culture and Identity in South Africa

This chapter scrutinizes the images of social identity and modes of representation embodied in liberal discourses in education. It examines the principles and values which underlined these discourses, the general features of the "scientific practice" which informed them and, most importantly, the way particular historical situations were confronted by the "liberals." An attempt will also be made to critique and reassess the way the specific nature of liberalism in education has been conceptualized. The chapter argues that liberals in South Africa have been persistent in striving for more rational and moderate discursive modes of representation, particularly in the construction of white liberal identity vis-a-vis black people. Their discourses always emphasized the need to shift the dividing lines separating blacks from whites as imposed by segregationist and apartheid policies.

However, by overemphasizing diversity and difference (more precisely degrees of difference) on grounds of "civilization" and culture, liberal discourses did not go beyond the framework of exclusivism of the dominant block which they contested. To pursue this line of argument, the chapter examines the continuum from the concept of "the educated franchise" during the Victorian era, the discourse of "adaptation," particularly the concept of "adapted education" in the 1920s and 1930s, to the economic pragmatism inspired by the economic pressure of the 1960s and 1970s and by the "free market" ideology of the 1980s. The most important feature of this pragmatism was the change of concerns or emphasis from "white identity" to commitment to a South African society free from racism and apartheid and based on a free-market economy and western democracy.

Liberalism: The Concept

The concept of liberalism, within the South African context, has been the subject of several studies.[1] Legassick distinguishes two main meanings in its general use. In one sense, the concept of liberalism is used to characterize "those who give priority to the freedom of law, an independent judiciary, a free press, freedom of speech and associa-tion and conscience."[2] In this sense, the "Cape liberal tradition" has been regarded as the historical embodiment of these principles.[3] The concept of liberalism is also used in an economic sense to define those "who believe in laissez-faire, the free interplay of market forces un-trammeled by the state."[4] These general meanings change and assume different nuances in different societies and at various stages in their historical development. In the South African context, however, liber-alism has developed a specific meaning. Legassick characterizes this as follows:

In South Africa "liberal" too, has acquired another mean-ing...that of "friend of the native"....In this sense "liber-alism" is, in some sense, identifiable with "tender minded-ness" or, in the context of the view of South African society and "native policy"...a force trying, on the one hand, to minimize or disguise the conflictual and coercive aspects of the social structure, and, on the other, to con-vince selected Africans that grievances they felt could be ameliorated through reforms liberals could promulgate.[5]

1. See, for example, Janet Robertson, *Liberalism in South Africa, 1948–1963* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Paul Rich, *White Power and Liberal Conscience, Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism, 1921–1960* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984); R.M. Godsell, "Liberal ethics in South Africa since 1948: Power principle and responsive action," M.A. thesis (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1985); and L. Marquard *Liberalism in South Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1965).
2. Martin Legassick, "Ideology and social structure in 20th century South Africa" (Postgraduate Seminar Paper, ICS), p. 1. See also Martin Legassick, "Liberalism, social control and liberalism in South Africa"; and Martin Legassick, "British hegemony and the origins of segregation in South Africa, 1901–1914," University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, February 1974, mimeo.
3. J. Lear, T. Kneifel and K. Nurnberger (eds), *Contending Ideologies in South Africa* (Cape Town, Johannesburg: David Philip, 1978), p. 54.
4. Legassick, "Ideology and social structure...," op cit, p. 1.
5. Ibid, p. 1.

The notion of reforming the conditions of oppression of blacks has been a consistent thread in liberal ideology; it has acted as a basis for the creation of a harmonious democratic society based on the princi-ples of political and economic liberalism. This "benevolent paternal-istic" attitude, to use the words of the historian Shula Marks, was at no point concerned with the complete abolition of the basic condi-tions of that oppression. Legassick has also noted, as a common ideal, the "desire to transcend a repressive policy which gives no out-let for African expression of grievances without granting to Africans significant political power to determine white destinies."[6] It is notable that in their approach to this issue, indeed, some liberals maintained racism in South Africa. Apartheid as a relic of the past would be eliminated by capitalist modernization.[7]

Robertson has made the point that in South Africa liberalism has been determined by the context in which different groups have found themselves, namely the Afrikaners, English and Africans. She points out that, in general, early liberals advocated two alternative solutions to the South African "colour problem"; total separation and parallel institutions. The theory of parallel institutions (e.g. separate-but-equal education) was liberal orthodoxy until about the 1930s.[8] Within the liberal logic of difference and diversity, "equality in sepa-ration" and "unity in diversity" appeared as the most appealing solu-tions to the "colour problem." Rich shares the view that the "sepa-rate-but-equal" tradition was a part of the "liberal tradition" during the 1930s and 1940s. The liberals, he argues, "looked, as did the government itself, via a strategy of territorial segregation, to the rural reserves as the main repositories for African political and economic rejuvenation."[9] This was to change as the National Party became the chief advocate of segregation and as its effects became manifest.

However, a general feature in the existing literature is the tendency to regard liberalism as a body of universally-valid principles and val-ues, which within the South African context have assumed particular

6. Ibid, p. 3.
7. See for example a critique by Ernesto Laclau in *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (New York, London: Verso, 1990), p. 23.
8. Robertson, op cit, p. 10.
9. Rich, op cit, p. 123.

connotations.[10] This body of principles and values includes: (1) the defence of certain principles like those of "equality," "rejection of racist discrimination" and "defence of certain rights"; and (2) opposition to the Apartheid policies of the Nationalist Government.[11] Some radical theorists have linked liberalism with certain methodological characteristics such as an emphasis on white education, a neglect of the study of black education, a descriptive, uncritical character, over-simplicity and an inability to show the relationships between education and other features of South African society.[12] This chapter contends that any assessment of South African liberalism requires not only the identification of certain political values and general features of liberal academic practice but also an understanding of the way particular historical situations were confronted by the "liberals" and how they dealt with the question of political identity, with particular reference to variables such as time, place and social context.

To put it differently, an assessment of liberal discourse in South Africa must grasp the dialectical development of liberalism, its specific nature, shape and particular forms of expression at each historical moment, amongst different communities and social strata. This means that though the individual as a subject of knowledge is not, epistemologically speaking, a passive reflector of outside stimuli, we cannot ignore the complexity of human experience and its influence on the development of human thought and human choices.

What is meant by human experience here is the complex totality constituted by factors such as the social environment in which human beings live, the pressures exerted by generations, schools, the economy: a totality which is not *static* and *harmonious* but rather, dynamic, contradictory in nature and always in a changing process. The interaction of an individual with that totality changes and so do his/her ideas and imagery of identity, even if they seem to remain the same in their basic principles. For example, recent developments in

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10. See P. Enslin, "Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one?", *Perspectives in Education*, 8(3), 1985, pp. 129–153; and also M. Cross, "Open the parcels and check inside before you stick on the labels: Remarks on P. Enslin's 'Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one?'" *Perspectives in Education*, 8(3), 1985, pp. 154–164.

11. Ibid., p. 133 and p. 156.

12. Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), pp. 4–15.

educational literature indicate that there has been a certain radical-ization of the so-called "liberal" positions in South Africa. The literature also indicates that there has been significant mobility between liberal and radical groups. For example the De Lange initiative, which embraced influential Christian-Nationalist protagonists, arrived at conclusions that cannot adequately be understood within the discursive frontiers of orthodox Afrikaner nationalism. These clearly reflected the increasing hegemonization of liberal discourse across the boundaries. Therefore, liberal discourses will be considered within the historical context from which they have emerged. This idea is elaborated by Rich when he points out that

the overall assessment of South African liberalism must not be guided by, as many liberal historians have imagined, the simple ability to keep certain political values intact, but by the way particular historical situations are confronted. As Eric Voegelin has warned, "[liberalism] is not a body of timeless valid scientific propositions about political reality, but rather a series of political opinions and attitudes which motivates them, and are then overtaken by history and required to do justice to new situations."[13]

The development of liberal discourses in South African education can be divided into the following main periods: (1) 1881–1910, dominance of the Cape assimilationist tradition; (2) 1910–1948, dominance of total segregation and promotion of "adaptation" discourse; (3) 1948–1976, economic liberalism and the emergence of the manpower development discourse; and (4) 1976–1992, the struggle for hegemony in education.

The first period reflected the strong influence of the Cape assimilationist tradition and the Cape franchise, whereby educated blacks could be selectively granted political rights.[14] Increasing criticism of the policy of total segregation, the recognition of the peculiarity of "adapted education" and the American-inspired concept of the culture of the Africans and the American-inspired concept of "adapted education" formed the main features of the second period until the advent of Nationalist rule in 1948. These reflected the growing ideological and intellectual influence from educational research and anthropology, which provided a new basis for the reassessment

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13. Rich, op cit, pp. 27–30

14. Ibid.

of "native policy." The third period saw the resurgence of liberalism now transformed, with a particular concern with the needs of the expanding economy. This characteristic also dominated the last period. I shall briefly set into historical sequence some of the social features of liberal discourses during the four periods.

Period 1881–1910: The Influence of the Cape Liberal Tradition

Liberal imagery of identity in early periods of South African history was bound up with the history of racial prejudice which dominated social science and colonial accounts during the Victorian era. This is explained by several factors, namely "the spectacular explosion of biologically based racial science (scientific racism) in the second half of the nineteenth century,"[15] social Darwinism and eugenics, and social practices based on the assumption of superiority of "Western civilization," and the fear of racial mixture with "tribal" and "heathen" African peoples, which encouraged white cultural exclusivism. The social Darwinist idea of a natural hierarchy according to which the world's races could be classified had considerable influence on liberal thinking. The same can be said about the eugenics movement, which suggested that in order to safeguard Western civilization, radical measures of social and biological engineering, such as the control of genetic pools or "racial stocks" were essential.[16] The racial imagery which emanated from these intellectual contexts was readily transferred to the colonial terrain where it was applied to questions of race, civilization/culture and identity by white settlers and the missionaries.[17]

The "assimilationist" policies of George Grey in the Cape Colony, the segregationist strategy of Shepstone in Natal, the discourse of the

15. Saul Dubow, "Race, civilization and culture: The elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years," in Marks & Trapido (eds), op cit, p. 70.

16. G.R. Searle, Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914 (Leyden, 1976).

17. See, for example, N. Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest (Cape Town, 1952); J. Cock, "Education for domesticity" Chapter in Maids and Madams (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980); and K. Crehan, "Ideology and practice, a missionary case: The London Missionary Society and the Cape frontier 1799–1850," in A. Akeroyd and L.R. Hill (eds), South African Research in Progress, Collected Papers (York University: Centre for South African Studies, 1979).

Victorian civilizing mission and Milner's reconstruction policy should be understood against that intellectual background.[18] The same applies to differentiated church work for blacks and whites, justified on grounds of culture and civilization.[19] Liberal discourses sought to accommodate some Africans who passed the test of "civilization" or education. Liberalism in the old Cape Colony thus described the commitment to bring "civilization" and the vote to those who succeeded in assimilating the basics of western culture as transmitted in education. As a result, the Cape Colony since its first Constitution in 1852 had admitted coloured and African voters to the roll on the same qualification as all other voters, i.e. with reference to property ownership, an educational test and so forth. These developments during the Victorian era set the ideological and intellectual context for the debates on culture and education policy after the Anglo-Boer War.

Period 1910–1948: "Adaptation" Versus Total Segregation

From the 1880s up to the 1920s, the South African industrial revolution took place under the dominance of mining capital. Large numbers of the African population were drawn to the mines as migrant workers. As already noted, amongst whites the process of proletarianization had involved the rise of the so-called "poor white problem" (see Chapter 3), but from the 1920s onwards large-scale proletarianization of blacks began as a result of the 1913 Land Act and the emergence of manufacturing industry. The main urban centres now became crowded with black proletarians seeking jobs. This created

18. See J.W. Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and M. Cross, "The foundations of a segregated schooling system in the Transvaal, 1900–24," History of Education, 1987, 16(4), 1987.

19. Culture was often seen as an important factor for differentiation of missionary work. For example, Canon Farmer, the most experienced priest in mission work in the Diocese of Pretoria, reporting to the Synod of 1904 on mission work, argued that "European and Bantu were so essentially different that it was almost impossible for one priest to tackle both efficiently" [my emphasis]. Quoted in A. Winter, Till Darkness Fell (Mirfield: House of Resurrection, Easter 1962), pp. 8–9.

serious social problems. Liberal discourses, at this stage, were directly or indirectly responding to these social changes.

During the early period of the mining revolution, some criticism of the new policy of segregation developed in terms of nineteenth century liberalism as explained above. It was expressed as a recognition of individuals on the basis of "civilization" rather than race. But such criticism, as already mentioned, did not go beyond the framework of segregation and was mainly concerned with the alleviation of the effects of this policy. The "education of blacks was left in the hands of missionaries, even if the "missionaries could be somewhat irritating with their mildly assimilationist tendencies."[20]

Social and Educational Research, 1920–1948

The process of industrial revolution had profound implications for the educational debate of the 1920s and 1930s. One was the shifting of responsibility from the missionaries and the church to the state in addressing educational matters. A second was the movement towards professionalization of educational activities manifested in a more structured training of teachers, curriculum planning and inspection of schools. A third was the increasing importance of social and educational research as a basis for policy formulation and educational practice. This led to the constitution of a very important identity group: the academia. A fourth involved unsuccessful attempts to deracialize science, particularly "race psychology" and the anthropology of "Bantu people." Liberals attributed racial bias in social science to the meddling of "politics" in matters which required "scientific" treatment. The last two will receive particular attention in this section. The chapter will show how these developments impacted on the formation of liberal discourses in the 1920s and 1930s.

Many liberals argued for the adoption of methods of scientific research to address more effectively the problems emanating from the mingling of several races in South Africa and the great variety of geographical and economic conditions. These problems began to be seen as a matter of science and expertise, which escaped the eye of the

20. R. Hunt Davis, "The administration and financing of African education in South Africa, 1910–1953," in Peter Kallaway (ed), op cit, p. 135.

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politicians, rather than a "matter of politics."[21] For example the so-called "native question" could be solved "by taking it out of politics and by enlisting for its study a body of experts."[22] As Malherbe pointed out, the actions of the state should thus be based upon "scientifically proved principles" rather than dictated by the "political expediency" of the moment:[23]

> If we do not try for a scientific solution of the problem, we shall have an unscientific one forced upon us, in the shape of Fascism, or revolution, or just chaos and drift.[24]

The industrial revolution in South Africa and the First World War created conditions for the use of scientific methods within the domain of industrial and technical inquiry. However, they also determined a disintegrating process in the field of human relationships, which disrupted human institutions, such as family and church, to an unprecedented extent. This process, according to the protagonists of social research, led by E.G. Malherbe, required research urgently, "both from a *psychological* (i.e. individual) and a *sociological* (i.e. institutional or social) point of view" [my emphasis].[25] Sociological research could concentrate on the adaptability of the school as an institution to the changing social and economic context and psychological research on the mental growth of the individual child under modern

21. The Council for Educational and Social Research formed towards the end of 1934 played a central role in the promotion of social research in South Africa. Its predecessor was the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, established in July 1929, under the Union Education Department and under the directorship of Dr. E.G. Malherbe. Its functions included: (1) to act as a central clearing house for educational statistics and ideas overseas and in South Africa; (2) to act as a liaison office between the various education departments; and (3) to conduct research on educational problems in co-ordination with universities and other agencies. (E.G. Malherbe, Educational and Social Research in South Africa. Pretoria: SAESR, 1939, p. 49). The Bureau was closed for the period 26 June 1940 to 30 September 1945. On 1 October 1945, Dr. P.A.W. Cook re-opened the Bureau on 1 October 1945. On 1 April 1969, its staff were transferred from the Department of Higher Education to the Human Sciences Research Council. On 1 April 1973, the government approved the establishment of the Human Sciences Research Council and the Human Sciences Research Council," Killie Campbell Africana Library, Killie Campbell Africana

22. E.G. Malherbe, "National Bureau of Educational and Social Research and the Human Sciences Research Council.

22. C.T. Loram, "Killie Campbell Africana Library, Killie Campbell Africana Library, document 56983 (179).

E.G. Malherbe, "Circular letter to my friends," Pietermaritzburg, June 30, 1931. In Social Research in South Africa...., op cit, p. 2 and p. 22.

23. E.G. Malherbe, Educational and Social Research...., op cit, p. 2 and p. 22.
24. Ibid., p. 7.
25. Ibid., p. 3.

conditions.26 The emphasis on social research was accompanied by a slowly increasing appreciation of the fact that African cultures were worth studying and understanding before an attempt was made to change them.27 For this purpose, an appropriate representational system based on scientific methods was to be developed through which the complexities of African cultures and identities could be understood.28

Educational research received the task of promoting efficiency, eliminating waste throughout the educative process and of placing the workings of the system on a scientific basis by means of curriculum studies, diagnosis of individual pupils, a more vital conception of the function and methods of teaching and application of levels of intellectual ability.29 A matter of major concern for educational research was the question of "the educability of the native." Rheinallt-Jones, former official of the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, first director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), and a proponent of an enlightened approach to native policy, stated the problem as follows:

1) Is there evidence of qualitative differences between the European and the Bantu mind? 2) If so, are these differences inherent and ineradicable? If so, to what extent? ... . The direction which native policy should take is, therefore, dependent upon the view we take of the place which the primitive races are destined, by their inherent capacities, to have in modern civilization. A definite responsibility rests upon scientific workers in the field of anthropological and psychological research to collect the data from which general principles may be deduced...30

26. Ibid., p. 24.
27. T. Jesse Jones, "Essentials of civilization," document found in the file of 1935–6, File 480/1 KCM 56980 (only pages 15-26), p. 16.
28. An important point to be made here is that representation was not just a transmission of something that had already been constituted but the construction of something new, as expressed by categories such as the "educated kaffir," "Bantu culture," and so forth, propagated by social science.
29. E.G. Malherbe, "Memorandum on the provision for the training of research workers under the Faculty of Education," submitted to the faculty on 26 October 1927, University of Cape Town, Killie Campbell Africana Library, document 56973, file 42/52.
30. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, "The need of scientific basis for South African native policy," South African Journal of Science, 23, 1926, pp. 79–91.

"Race Psychology" and African Educability

In the early 20th century the polemical battle within liberal ranks was still dominated by concern with the nature of the African's mind. The principle of difference structuring liberal discourse in "race psychology" drew on a variety of available debates upon the nature and character of African mentality articulated in the context of colonial supremacist ideologies. Those debates provided several images and metaphors on African educability and propensity for manual work, such as "the educated kaffir" as a lazy individual and the idea of "arrested development."31 The imagery in such debates did much to bolster liberal conceptions of cultural difference and identity construction, articulated by psychologists and anthropologists of the day. Further, it was on such imagery that liberal discourses of the 1920s and 1930s were based.

The view that there were innate qualitative differences between the mental endowment of the European and that of the African had a profound influence on the course of the debate on policy options for African education. A major trend in this debate was the explanation of African educability on grounds of biology or of "race psychology." It is in this period that the hypothesis which postulated the "arrested development" of the African at puberty found favour. This view was represented by Loram's theory of the "native's mental apathy" and "mental arrested development," an approach he formulated in 1917.32 According to the theory of "mental arrested development," the "native" might exhibit intelligence during childhood, but his/her intellectual development was arrested at the adolescent stage.33 This was described by Loram, who assumed the role of chief ideologist of white liberalism, as follows:

31. An important source was Natal's myth of the "educated kaffir" as illustrated in the following quotation from a Natal newspaper:
The "raw kaffir" is usually held to be more manageable, reliable, and useful than one who has been educated up to a certain degree of consciousness of the value of his services. The colonist, therefore, would, if pressed, give his vote in favour of the "ignorance" that is "bliss" for the native, and prefer that his servants should enjoy their servitude, to their being educated into competitors (Natal Witness, 27 October 1871).
32. C.T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1917, 1927), p. 223.
33. Ibid., p. 223.

In the case of the Bantu people the weakness of the higher mental processes compared with the strength of the earlier processes of sensation and memory, coupled with a lessening of these earlier powers more noticeable than in the case of the whites, has led to the generally accepted hypothesis that there is a marked arrest in the mental development in the case of the negro. This arrest, occurring for the most part in the early stages of adolescence, has induced the further hypothesis that the arrest takes place at, or shortly after, the pubertal period.[34]

This theory was supported by intelligence tests undertaken by Dr. M.I. Fick which were published in 1939 under the title *The Educability of the South African Native.*

Systematic data collection and many tests were run by other institutions with the same purpose.[35] The results of these tests were used to support the arrested development theory.[36] They were also used to denounce it.[37] It was argued that there was nothing in the constitution of the African's mind to prevent him/her from performing intellectually as a European person. Further, the validity of the tests was

34. Ibid., p. 209.

35. See Canon Crisp, "The mental capacity of the Bantu," in Report of the 75th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, South Africa, August and September, 1905 (London: John Murray, 1906).

36. A.T. Bryant, Mental Development of the South African Native, *Eugenics Review,* 9, 1917; R.H. Loades and S.G. Rich, "Binet tests on South African natives—Zulus," *Pedagogical Seminary,* 24, 1917; J.T. Dunstan, "Retarded and defective children: Native mentality; mental testing," *South African Journal of Science,* 20, 1923; M.L. Fick, "Intelligence test results of poor white, native (Zulu), coloured and Indian school children and the educational and social implications," *South African Journal of Science,* 26, 1929; L.E. Oates, "The Goodenough drawing test and its application to Zulu children," MA Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria 1938; J.A.J. Van Rensburg, *The Learning Ability of the South African Native Compared with that of the European,* South African Council for Educational and Social Research Series no.5 (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1938).

37. S.G. Rich, "Binet-Simon test was given to a number of pupils at a missionary school in Natal," *South African Journal of Science,* 14, 1917–18; S.M. Molema, *The Bantu—Past and Present* (Edinburgh: W. Green and Son, 1920), pp. 322–335; P. Nielsen, *The Black Man's Place in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta, 1922); W.G. Bennie, "The education of the native," *South African Journal of Science,* 1924.

also severely questioned.[38] In many cases these tests were used to justify the argument that the "native" was not capable of being educated, or at best, could hardly benefit by it.[39]

The New Fellowship Conference held in Johannesburg in 1934 added a further dimension to the question of educability of Africans: the anthropological dimension of culture, more precisely culture conflict, in the moulding of the mind of an individual.[40] According to this view, the mind or mentality of an individual may reflect either innate equipment of mental qualities or learned equipment in the context of a certain culture. The difference between African and European mentalities is not a congenital or racial difference but a difference of cultural milieu; it is a difference of social heritage rather than a difference of constitution or capacity between the average individual minds.[41] As Hoernlé, whose ideas had considerable impact on white political liberalism from the 1930s, pointed out:

38. See E.H. Brookes, *Native Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930), pp. 46–63; G.H. Welsh, Chairman, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936), pp. 112–113.

39. See M.L. Fick, "The educability of Native children of the Transvaal compared with other groups on the basis of intelligence tests," in E.G. Malherbe, J.J.G. Carson & J.D. Rheinhallt Jones (eds), *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society; Report of the South African Educational Conference Held in Cape Town and Johannesburg 1934* (Johannesburg: Juta, 1937), pp. 448–456; M.L. Fick, *The Educability of the South African Native,* South African Council for Educational and Social Research, Research Series no. 8 (Pretoria: SACfSR, 1939). This position was severely criticized in T.J. Jones *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, 1922).

40. See for example H.P. Junod, "Anthropology and missionary education," paper read at the meeting of the Superintendents' Association held at Pretoria on the 25th of October 1934 (KCM 56973 (329)); H.P. Junod, "How should the African negro be assessed," *Africa,* 4 (1931), pp. 330–342.

41. R.F.A. Hoernlé, "Prolegomena to the study of the black man's mind," *Journal of Philosophical Studies,* 2, (1927), pp. 52–61; B. Ross, "The learning ability of Africans and Europeans," *South African Outlook,* 69 (1939), pp. 143–144; S. Biesheuvel, *African Intelligence* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1943); E.H. Brookes, "African mental ability," *Journal of the (Royal) African Society,* 43 (1944); J.G. Taylor, *Intelligence and Education* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1944), pp. 171–177; A. Lee, *Colour and Cleverness* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1944); K.B. Theunissen, "A Preliminary Comparative Study of the Development of Moor Behaviour in European and Bantu Children up to Age of One Year," M.A. Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1948.

No convincing evidence has so far been produced that the minds of Bantu and Whites differ essentially in congenital endowment. That there are differences, in some respects great differences, in the ways in which Bantu minds and European minds work, I admit. But I hold that these differences are due—mainly, if not altogether—to the influence of different cultures. They are not differences of innate mental equipment, but they are divergent developments of the same type of innate mentality under the pressure of unlike conditions. There is ... no deep-going difference of *kind* of innate mentality, though there may be a slight difference of *degree*.[42]

Hoernlé's viewpoint was finally accepted by the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (1935-36), which stated that the "scholastic backwardness" of the African pupil was due to factors of environment. Only when these handicaps were removed could African and European intellectual ability be compared.[43] Also opposed to the school of the "primitive mentality"[44] of the "native" was Rheinallt-Jones, an influential figure within the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and related institutions. He attacked such conceptions as "scientific pretensions of racism."[45] Other social scientists and educationists, such as McKerron, historian of education at Rhodes University, supported these views. McKerron herself

42. R.F.A. Hoernlé, "The Educability of the Bantu," in Malherbe et al. (eds), *Educational Adaptations...*, op cit, p. 446.

43. Welsh Report, op cit, pp. 112–113. For further details see also G.R. Dent, "Applicability of certain performance and other mental tests to Zulu children," in E.G. Malherbe et al. (eds), *Educational Adaptations...*, op cit, pp. 456–465; J.J. Ross, "Mental traits and attitudes towards learning," in E.G. Malherbe et al. (eds), *Educational Adaptations...*, op cit, pp. 465–466; and T.M.H. Endeman, *Die Intelligensie van die Naturel in die lig van Pedagogiese Bevindings aan die Bothsabelo Opleidingskool vir Naturelle* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1937); C.G. Van den Berg, "A Comparative Study of European, Indian and Zulu School Children in Natal as regards Intelligence and Learning and Memory (an Investigation Based on the results of the Army Beta Test and Three Memory and Learning Tests)," M.Ed. Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1938.

44. For literature about "primitive mentality" theory see L. Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1926); L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mind* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1923); R. Allier, *The Mind of the Savage* (London: G. Bell, 1929); and F. Boas, *La Raison Primitive* (New York: Macmillan, 1911).

45. Paul Rich, op cit, p. 57.

argued that theories of "arrested development" could scarcely be regarded as scientific either in conception or in application.[46] She challenged those who argued that black criminality could be attributed to its opposite, inadequate education.[47] Her main concern was rather different:

Our main problem today is not to weigh the arguments for and against Native education, but to devise a system of education which will give scope for the highest development of the Native, and effect a happy co-ordination between European and Native life.[48]

Brookes[49] took these debates further. Indeed, he expressed views remarkably similar to those that were to be endorsed decades later by neo-Marxists in South African education:

Education is resisted because it would produce more claimants for the franchise, because it would reduce the available number of farm labourers, because it would upset the social structure of South Africa, because it would encourage miscegenation.[50]

In contrast to the dominant views of the time, Brookes believed that:

the problem of Native education is, in essence, whatever it may seem, much more of a class problem than of a race problem; for the objections made to it are precisely the objections made to the education of the European masses during the last century.[51]

These are some of the ambiguities of behaviour and ideology typical of the 1920s and 1930s discourses, which reflect not simply per-

46. M.E. McKerron, *A History of Education in South Africa, 1652–1932* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1934), pp. 174–175.

47. Ibid, p. 175.

48. Ibid, p. 177.

49. R.F.A. Hoernlé, Charles T. Loram, E.H. Brookes and J.D. Rheinallt Jones were major figures in South African white liberalism. They had considerable influence in liberal institutions such as the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and the University of the Witwatersrand.

50. E.H. Brookes, *Native Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930), p. 10.

51. Ibid, p. 11.

sonal psychology (individual consciousness) but the structurally dependent position of liberal individualities within the colonial political economy and the contradictory nature of the colonial order itself, particularly in periods of rapid social change or crisis.[52] This can be illustrated by the life of E.G. Malherbe.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Malherbe remained aloof from debates about schooling for blacks. His first volume of *Education in South Africa*[53] was concerned with the promotion of South Africanism, conceived of as comprising a white *volk* which included all whites and excluded blacks. On the one hand, his political views fell within the moderate Afrikaner nationalist group, around Louis Botha and Smuts, which favoured policies conducive to the promotion of South Africanism. On the other, he led a strong group of new intellectuals who advocated the rationalization of policy formulations through scientific research. Later, through his work for the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry into Poor Whites, and the South African Council for Educational and Social Research (SACESR), of which he was the Director, his main commitment was national development and rationalization of methods for scientific study of social problems. In the SACESR, predecessor of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), he played a key role in the formulation of national policy, and in particular educational and social policy. When, in the 1920s, the inflow of the black proletariat to the towns became a serious problem for the dominant classes, he was one of those who relied on social research as the basis for the formulation of rational policy. Thus by 1930 his interest in white education made way for a concern with the study of black education:

One [topic] which urgently needs investigation...[is] the social effects of the urbanization of South African Natives. The work of the two commissions of 1883 and 1905 should be carried further with a view to assessing the degree of disintegration of Bantu life as a result of their in-

52. Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1986), p. vii; see also Neville Hogan, "The posthumous vindication of Zachariah Gqishela," in Shula Marks & Anthony Atmore (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa* (London: 1980), p. 277.
53. E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1652–1922* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1925), 2 vols.

creasing industrialization and detribalization. Social workers tell me that their family life is disintegrating to an amazing degree and that the incidence of illegitimate births amongst the natives is over 80 per cent in some of the urban locations in the Transvaal. These children are growing up. The educative and disciplinary influences of the normal Native family are totally absent. The result is an appalling rise in criminality amongst Native juveniles in these cities.[54]

The dislocations experienced by Africans in response to the rapid industrialization and urbanization at the beginning of the century increased the possibility of African incorporation into a social structure grounded on the liberal principle of "equality" on the basis of education or civilization. Thus Malherbe regarded socialization through education as the most effective way of materializing this principle while minimizing criminality and "juvenile delinquency." As conditions changed during the 1960s, his views and priorities became more crystallized. The increasing concern with the question of economic growth and the role of black education as a catalytic factor led Malherbe to identify himself more clearly with liberal ideals and principles.

Rapid social change during the 1920s and 1930s and the intellectual and ideological influence of social and educational research increased interest in the "natives" and, in particular, the education of blacks. Two main factors contributed to this new development: first, the emergence of an African urban proletariat and, secondly, the growth of mission-educated Africans who were beginning to emerge as an identifiable elite. On the one hand, it was considered necessary to formulate proposals for the education and integration of the African proletariat into the new economic order and new forms of life. On the other hand, the crucial mediating role which the emerging petty bourgeoisie could play in this political context was recognized. According to Rich, one of the key issues was to "instil in them some form of political accommodationism linked to alternative political outlets through the rural reserves."[55]

One liberal answer to these problems was to try to control the leisure-time of adults and youth, through the promotion of different

54. E.G. Malherbe, Educational and Social Research....op cit, pp. 40–41.
55. Paul Rich, op cit, p. 18.

kinds of cultural and educational institutions. This made possible the revitalisation of South African liberalism in the 1920s and 1930s by a small but influential group of liberal professionals, nicknamed "friends of the native" by Legassick.[56] In 1921, they established Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans and welfare institutions to promote inter-racial justice, co-operation and understanding. They also created re-search institutions such as the South African Institute of Race Relations and research programmes in liberal universities to handle the so-called "Native question." These initiatives had the support and participation of African leaders and exerted a strong ideological influence on them. These were to act as channels of communication with the African elite. Thus the South African Institute of Race Relations, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the Union Government Advisory Board on Bantu Studies, Vacation Courses in Native Affairs, Bantu Study Circles in connection with the Universities and a number of social welfare institutions such as the Gamma Sigma Club, the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the Helping Hand Club for Native Girls, the Joint Councils, the Bridgman Memorial Hospital and various newspapers became the means through which liberals tried to meet the problems of an African elite and effect a compromise between black as-pirations and their ameliorative goals.[57] Most of these initiatives were based on the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, a school of thought which was strong in the 1920s and 1930s and which had great appeal to moderate liberals in South Africa.[58]

Loram and Rheinallt-Jones began to take over the Native Welfare Societies (purely European in membership) and turn them into Joint

56. See M. Legassick, "Ideology and social structure in 20th century South Africa," Postgraduate Seminar Paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, p. 1. See also M. Cross, "A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment," *Comparative Education*, 22(3), 1986, pp. 186–193.

57. Tim Couzens, "Moralising leisure time: The transatlantic connection and black Johannesburg, 1901–1936," in Shula Marks & Richard Rathbone (eds), *Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870–1930* (Harlow: Longman, 1983), p. 318; or Paul Rich, op cit, pp. 11–17. See also C.T. Loram, "Circular letter...," op cit.

58. Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, saw indus-trial training for rural black farmers and sharecroppers as the most effective way to pro-mote the participation of ex-slaves in the economy. For details see Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the white man's burden," *American Historical Review*, LI(2), 1966, pp. 441–467.

Councils of Europeans and Africans. By 1929 there were 34 Joint Councils, on which Rheinallt-Jones had direct influence.[59] As with many other early South African social institutions, the SAIRR appears to have arisen from Loram's experience of the Interracial Councils sponsored by W.W. Alexander in the Southern States of the USA.[60] The SAIRR was intended to serve as a connecting link between the considerable number of bodies (e.g. Joint Councils, Welfare Societies, Missionary Conferences) engaged in various forms of activities among the Africans. It was to initiate investigations upon social, economic and other problems with a view to the accumulation of information and the dissemination of knowledge upon matters affecting racial rela-tions in South Africa. These included the encouragement of agricul-tural development, the extension of health organization and the provi-sion of recreational, educational and religious agencies.[61]

At the same time, a new force came to reinforce liberal activities; the universities. These included programmes of social and educational re-search designed to minimize ignorance and maladministration in resolv-ing the "native question."[62] Couzens provides the following picture:

In the universities, departments of Bantu Studies were formed. In 1918, the University of Cape Town appointed a Professor of Bantu Philology; and in 1921, A. Radcliffe-Brown became Professor of Social Anthropology; in 1921, Rev. A.T. Bryant was appointed Research Fellow and Lec-turer in Zulu History at the University of the Witwater-srand, and in 1923 C.M. Doke was made Senior Lecturer in Bantu Philology and Lecturer in Social Anthropology. In Pretoria, at the Transvaal University College, Dr. Edgar Brookes taught similar courses. The University of the Wit-

59. E. Brookes, "A neglected figure in Natal education.... C.T. Loram," *Neon*, 24, September 1977, p. 3.

60. Ibid, p. 3.

61. For details see The Committee of the South African Institute of Racial Relations, "South African Institute of Race Relations—Preliminary Announcement," August 1929, Killie Campbell Africana Library, E.G. Malherbe Collection, Item Kim 57016 (37) in File 550/7. The Committee had the following composition: Dr. C.T. Loram (Chairman), Mr. Howard Pim (Treasurer) and Mr. Rheinallt-Jones (Secretary and Con-venor).

62. Legassick, "Ideology and social structure...," op cit, p. 13.

waterstrand started publishing its magazine *Bantu Studies* in 1921 with Rheinallt-Jones as editor.[63]

The most controversial problem, however, remained that of educating the African working class. Having accepted the principle that the Africans were capable of benefiting by education and schooling, the liberals remained divided over their conceptions about the type of education appropriate for blacks.

The Concept of "Adaptation" in African Education

Despite differences in viewpoint amongst liberals, the main solution to "native education" was in the provision of some form of "adapted education" which, it was thought, would unite different races without sacrificing the individuality and social position of any one of them. Drawing its inspiration from American Tuskegeeism and the Phelps-Stokes Inquiry of the 1920s,[64] "adapted education" had, as its main purpose, the provision of skills suitable to rural life.[65] It was based on what Jesse Jones called "the whole school plan" whereby the school is part and parcel of the village and its life.[66] Loram defined "adaptation" as "the use of the school and the whole machinery of education to fit natives for the life they will have to live today and tomorrow."[67] This concept of "adaptation" was elaborated into the following:

63. Couzens, op cit, p.318.

64. In 1920-1 and 1924, the African Education Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, undertook two studies on education for Africans. The first dealt with West and Equatorial Africa and the second with East, Central and South Africa. The reports pursued the argument that to be useful to African communities, school subjects should be integrated with community values and environmental needs.

65. See T.J. Jones, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Central Africa by the African Education Committee under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Foreign Missionary Societies of N. America and Europe* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1924); R.T. Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram and an American model for African education in South Africa," *African Studies Review*, 19, 1976, pp. 87–99, also in D.G. Scanlon (ed), *Traditions of African Education* (New York: Columbia University, 1964), and Paul Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the Fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906–1930," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 20(2), 1987, pp. 271–292.

66. T. Jesse Jones, "Essentials of civilization," op cit, p. 21.

67. C.T. Loram, "South African native education vacation courses—First course, to be held by kind permission of the authorities at Marianhill Training College, Natal,

Believing…that full citizenship is the Native's destiny, I would advocate a "two string" policy for Native education in South Africa. In the elementary schools I would stress Dutch, but my objective would be to *prepare the mass of the people for homesteading on the Reserves* and for subordinate positions where the Natives came in contact with the whites.…At Fort Hare I would quite definitely prepare leaders for the current and impending struggle by stressing the subjects which we include in our study of culture contacts and race relations at Yale.[68]

Re-defining the Nature of Liberal Identity

The general election of 1948 culminated in the political victory of a white Afrikaner alliance of farmers, teachers, ministers and workers, moved by the ideals of Christian Nationalism.[69] Thereafter, the strategy of the dominant bloc involved, on the one hand, the intensification of state intervention to control the circulation of labour through its redistribution and repulsion, and on the other, a decisive challenge to progressive liberal trends. Special legislation was promulgated (such as Influx Control, Bantu Authorities, and Group Areas Acts) aimed at controlling the rapid and growing influx of proletarianized Africans into urban areas. As was explained in Chapters Three and Four, in education, state control was asserted over missionary schooling and black education was segregated through the fragmentation of the education system and the differentiation of curricula in a process initiated during the Reconstruction Period (1902-1924) and consolidated by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Similar legislation was promulgated for coloured and Indian "population groups" during the 1960s. The education system was further fragmented with the implementation of the policy of bantustanization. The ultimate purpose of these policies was to promote separate racial and ethnic identities as part of a Nationalist strategy aimed at preserving white supremacy and Afrikaner political hegemony in South Africa. How did liberals react?

July 1–July 20, 1928" in E.G. Malherbe's Collection, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Document 56856 (692)b, p. 1.

68. C.T. Loram, Letter to E.G. Malherbe, February 12, 1936 in E.G. Malherbe File 692) KGM 57030 (83), Killie Campbell Africana Library.

69. See Chapter Four.

As far as whites were concerned, liberalism suffered a major defeat. Rich interprets the establishment of the South African Liberal Association,[70] as "only a somewhat tardy and defensive reaction by liberals concerned with the political consequences of the government's exclusive nationalism" and merely an attempt to revive the Cape-inherited franchise for the educated African minorities.[71] In terms of identity construction, there were however important dimensions added by the Liberal Party to the tradition of liberalism in South Africa. Firstly, it introduced the now inflated concept of "New South Africa" based on the principles of liberalism and with most of the connotations attached to it today.[72] This was to a large extent inspired by liberal understanding of the events on the continent in the 1960s:

It [any political movement wishing to play a part in events in the new Africa] must realize that the days of privilege based on skin colour are gone. Any person who wants to play a part in building the new South Africa must see that here, as in the rest of the continent, Colour Bars, obvious or concealed, are going to disappear.[73]

"New South Africa" was conceived of as "a country in which all its citizens will live together in peace and happiness," thus as an opposition to the Nationalist exclusivist policy of the "grouping of our people into races."[74] It represented the image of a new identity which cut across racial dividing lines.[75] Secondly, liberalism was also associated with the ideal of national freedom as opposed to coercive grouping of individuals into race or ethnic groups, what it called "communism or nationalism based on race":[76]

Liberalism is the organization of liberty. Liberals are those who put liberty above everything else. Liberty is the freedom by which a man can decide a thing for himself and the free-national freedom, but only if each citizen has his own liberty also means when the nation is free. Liberty means equality, but only if all the people are not forced to be exactly the same. Liberty means economic freedom, provided that there is not too much economic power in the hands of a few people.[77]

In this sense, the Liberal Party emerged as the first predominantly white political party committed to promoting a new South African-ism beyond racial boundaries "by ending the wicked but powerful use of racial differences which separates us and sets us against one another, to raise up the South African people."[78] The identity of the South African people would be facilitated by "integration" in education, the use of English as a common language and through promotion of "understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all national, racial and religious groups":[79]

When it does become the Government, the Party will make its first task in education the righting of the wrong done by the present Government's "Bantu Education" policy. By their isolationist policies of putting people into pockets of tribalism the present rulers are attempting to ensure that a generation of Africans will grow up with hardly any knowledge of the English language. This new generation will scarcely have met their fellow white human beings in

70. The Liberal Party started with two members of parliament and two senators, who had become famous by their opposition against the 1936 law which took African voters off the common roll. Each of them was elected to represent the Africans of the Cape Province, before being removed from Parliament.

71. Paul Rich, *White Power and Liberal Conscience...*, op cit, p. 129.

72. For example the "freedom to move about, to live where one chooses, to think or say what one chooses, to marry whom one chooses, to work at what or where one chooses, without harming others." (Ibid, p. 4)

73. Peter Brooms, "Chapter for the Natal Mercury," 07.03.1962, p. 3.

74. Liberal Party, "Liberalism and the New South Africa," Mimeo. Northwestern University Library, Africana Collection, p. 1.

75. This image was also present within the Congress Alliance and the Women's Defence of the Constitution League created in the late fifties to campaign for civil rights and liberties. The League was later referred to as the Black Sash because as a distinguishing mark, the women wore Black Sashes across the right shoulder. (See "The Black Sash, its aims and objects—reasons for its formation," G137/1, Northwestern University,

Africana Library, pp. 2–3. See also "The Black Sash, Constitution of the Black Sash," Northwestern University, Africana Library.)

76. Liberal Party, "Liberalism & the New South Africa," Northwestern University Library, Africana Library.

77. Ibid, pp. 1–2.

78. Ibid, p. 3.

79. Liberal Party of South Africa, "Education Policy," undated, Africana collection, Northwestern University, Africana Library, p. 4.

friendship and kindliness. The Party will therefore be faced with the task of integration in education on vast scale.[80]

To meet these objectives, schools and all subsidized universities and colleges were to be open to all, irrespective of race, colour or religion. Having pursued a liberal policy popular with most of the Congress Alliance members, a question arises as to whether the Liberal Party had an identity of its own in political terms rather than racial or ethnic terms. The Liberal Party disbanded in 1968 because of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill which made multi-racial political parties illegal. Its rhetoric was continued in the Progressive Federal Party, which later became the Progressive Federal Party and then the Democratic Party,[81] Multi-ethnic political representation, the amelioration of apartheid in urban areas, the relaxation of influx control and the establishment of a black middle class remained the pillars of South African liberalism. Most importantly, the need for co-operation and the idea of interdependence between the various race groups superseded the selective and exclusivist approach (on grounds of "civilization" or education) of early South African liberalism. Liberal identity assumed a political identity, the frontiers of which were defined with reference to universally accepted liberal principles. This can be illustrated by events concerning the 1957 "Multiracial Conference."

The 1957 "Multiracial Conference"

The Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF) convened a meeting of some 400 African delegates and about 400 observers in October 1956, drawn from a wide cross-section of cultural, religious, occupational and political organizations to discuss the Tomlinson Commission Report.[82] The IDAMF Conference strongly

80. Ibid., p. 4.
81. The Liberal Party issued a notice to its members stating that in view of the publication of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, the party decided to dissolve itself rather than reform as a uni-racial party. (The Liberal Party of South Africa—*Ikandla Lenkululeko Lase South Afrika*—"Important notice to members on The Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill." Pamphlet, Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library.)
82. Note that SABRA, the FAK and the three Dutch Reformed Churches had also convened a Conference in July 1956 to discuss the Tomlinson Commission Report. (See Chapter Five).

rejected the Report. It argued that the solution to the South African problem did not consist of only the alternatives— "ultimate complete integration or ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu"—as advocated by the Report. The Conference maintained that the situation called for co-operation and interdependence between the various races.[83] It called upon all national organizations to mobilize people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid and in defence of Christian and human values.[84]

The IDAMF, under the Chairmanship of Reverand ZR Mahabane, was given a mandate to work towards the calling of a multi-racial conference. This decision was welcomed by the Labour party, the Liberal Party and liberal white individuals. It was strongly opposed by government as "positively dangerous" and by the United Party as impracticable in view of the steadily increasing rigidity of the ideological policies of the government.[85] To provide a forum for the full and free exchange of views, it was agreed that the most satisfactory results would emerge from a conference of individuals not tied to the policies of the organizations to which they belonged, rather than from one of delegates representing organizations. The Conference, which took place at the University of the Witwatersrand in November 1957, was described as "the turning of the tide in South Africa" and as having showed that it was still possible in South Africa for those of various ethnic groups and those holding divergent views to speak reasonably with one another.[86]

Important points were made by the Conference. First, the liberal concept of South Africanism gained support among the participants. South Africa, it was argued, must choose between the concept of a common society," or a bitter conflict between the concept of "a co-operation and irreconcilability, which could only result in collision.[87] Second, attempts were made to deconstruct the myth of "black danger" or the image of blacks as a threat to white identity and survival. Policies based on fear offered no real security to white

83. "Document 21. Reports of the Multiracial Conference." December 1957, Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library, p. 3.
84. Ibid., p. 5.
85. Ibid., p. 5.
86. The Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves in a closing speech, Ibid., p. 9.
87. Ibid., p. 9.

people and drove white South Africa into increasingly dangerous policies. Thirdly, the Conference rejected apartheid educational policies which sought to perpetuate white domination, accentuate ethnic differences and "resuscitate tribal nationalism."[88] The aim of education should be to promote "a common patriotism, common citizenship and the welding of the various elements in South Africa into a peaceful multi-racial society."[89] The Conference also reasserted the main liberal principles and goals, including universal suffrage and non-racial democracy.

The Rise of Economic Liberalism

The traditional bastions of liberalism, the English-medium universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, and the SAIRR, reacted to apartheid policies through reaffirmation of the principles of political liberalism. On the initiative of the SAIRR, a study was undertaken by E.H. Brookes and J.B. Macauley which resulted in the publication of *Civil Liberty in South Africa*, which could be seen as an authentic "liberal manifesto."[90] Here they protested against the violation of various "freedoms," including that of education. Following rumours that a University Education Act would be promulgated, preventing the admission of black students to these "open universities," they organized a Conference to prepare and publish a statement on the value of the open university. The conclusions were published in 1957 as *The Open Universities in South Africa*.[91] The work drew extensively on the American experience of integrated education, particularly the 1954 *Brown vs Board of Education* dispute.[92]

The 1960s saw a rather different and changing strand within liberalism in South Africa. Horrell and Malherbe in the Education Panel at the University of the Witwatersrand articulated some of the liberal concerns of the academia. Horrell's concern, like that of the SAIRR for which she worked, was mainly to document the effects of educa-

88. Ibid., p. 12.
89. Ibid.
90. E.H. Brookes and J.B. Macauley, *Civil Liberty in South Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1958).
91. *The Open Universities in South Africa* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1957).
92. See *The Open Universities*... op cit.

tion for blacks. She undertook the invaluable task of summarizing and simplifying bodies of legislation into a series of books which have become standard source-material for students of Bantu Education.[93]

By over-emphasising the importance of the economy in political reform, the Education Panel heralded a new era in liberalism in South African education, an era of what might be called "economic liberalism."[94] The political premises of economic liberalism were well stated in the economic and social policy of the Liberal Party of South Africa:

The doctrine of apartheid and permanent white supremacy has lost South Africa a unique opportunity to lead and assist in the economic development of Africa as a whole. The policies of the Liberal Party, when adopted, will enable the Union to assume its proper place as the industrial leader of the continent.[95]

Economic liberalism essentially maintained that certain apartheid practices were "archaisms" and ought to be removed. Bantu Education, it stressed, would lead to a dire skills shortage and steps had to be taken to prevent this from occurring. In addition, it favoured the promotion of black leadership through education. The main thrust of this emerging economic liberalism was well pinpointed by E.G. Malherbe in his address to the 1966 National Congress of the Progressive Party. Here, with a high sense of humour, he compared the situation and conceptions of the 1930s with the present and future reality. He maintained the separate-but-equal strand in his thinking, but he was much concerned with liberalization of the education system. He argued that: "the demands of the economy of South Africa are stronger than the colour bar with plenty of evidence out of the past to support and, indeed, to prove this view."[96] These ideas were echoed at the

93. Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652–1970* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1970); and Muriel Horrell, *Bantu Education to 1968* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1968).
94. *The 1961 Education Panel First and Second Reports* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1966).
95. The Liberal Party of South Africa, "Economic and social policy of the Liberal Party of South Africa," mimeo. Northwestern University, Africana Library, p. 4.
96. E.G. Malherbe, "Into the seventies...: Education and the development of South Africa's human resources," (paper delivered to the 1966 National Congress of the Progressive Party of South Africa, 1966), p. 66. See also E.G. Malherbe, "Bantu manpower"

1969 Conference on Bantu Education, organized by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Another important feature of economic liberalism was the increasing concern with occupational fitness and labour efficiency and productivity, and the implications of the Africans' "transition from a primitive culture to westernization" for labour relations.[97] This was explained by Biesheuvel as follows:

As Africans are being called upon to play an increasing part in the domestic affairs of various African territories, it is necessary to obtain a more reliable assessment of their potential abilities than that provided on the basis of every-day experience.[98]

And,

Despite the confident assertions of those who claim to know the native, we do not yet know, as a matter of scientific fact, whether Africans differ basically from Europeans in respect of intelligence, skill and attributes of hard work. There are many environmental and cultural circumstances which could account for such inferiority as has hitherto

and education" (theme paper delivered on 17 January at the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, Johannesburg). The views formulated by the Education Panel and by Malherbe were reiterated in the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations, involving, *inter alia*, E.G. Malherbe, M. Horrell, A.L. Behr and R. Tunmer. The factual background to the Conference was provided by the book *Bantu Education to 1968* (op cit), prepared by M. Horrell. The Conference raised some objections to the "separate-but-equal" strand:

Although it is recognized that the immediate educational and social needs of the different groups of South African people may require ... variations in education-al control and administration in teaching techniques and in language medium, Conference re-affirms the thesis that education is ultimately *not* divisible. Conference therefore looks forward to the time when the administration of all the education will be on a regional basis, with responsibility for the education of all the people in an area being vested in one authority. (The Report of the 1969 Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, 1969, p. 6)

97. S. Biesheuvel, "The study of African ability, Part 1. The intellectual potentialities of the Africans. Part II. A survey of some research problems," *African Studies*, 11, 1952, pp. 45–58 and 105–117; L.W. Dobb, "An introduction to the psychology of acculturation," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 45, 1957, pp. 143–160.

98. S. Biesheuvel, "The occupational abilities of Africans," *Optima*, 2(1) 1952, pp. 18–22.

been observed. Whether there are also racial factors which affect the power of the African's mind, or the skills which come most easily to him or the energy and the determination which he can bring to bear on his daily task, or the character qualities by means of which he can learn to control his conduct, is a matter for further research.[99]

As in the 1920s and 1930s, once again social anthropology, psychology, and a variety of tests for selection and classification of African labour into categories according to trainability, the possession of particular skills, and potential for leadership, came to dominate programmes of social research.[100] Of particular importance in this regard was the work undertaken by the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, which became the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR), and by the National Development Foundation.[101] Several theses were produced in South African universities on the same theme.[102] Regarding African industrial work,

99. S. Biesheuvel, "Utilisation of manpower in South Africa," *Journal of the South African Institute of Personnel Management*, 8, 1953, pp. 1–12.

100. See for example S. Biesheuvel, "Personnel selection tests—A means of improving the productivity of Native labour," *Municipal Affairs*, 19(220 & 221), 1953–54.

101. See for example S. Biesheuvel, *Selection and Classification Tests for Native Labour on the Gold Mines*, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1948); W. Hudson, *Native Underground Labour Transfers and their Relation to Classification and Efficiency*, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1948); *The Construction of Classification and Selection Tests for Native Mineworkers*, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1948; E.W. Stanton, *Native Labour on Repetition Work* (Johannesburg: National Development Foundation, 1948; S. Biesheuvel and W. Hudson, *The Validation of Boss Boy Selection Tests*, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1950); A.J. Fox, "Some aspects of labour problems in industry," *Journal of the South African Institute of Personnel Management*, 5, 1950, pp. 5–21; S. Biesheuvel and W. Hudson, *A Further Study of the Transfer Rate of native Underground Labour on Some Witwatersrand Gold Mines and Its Effects on Lashing Efficiency*, confidential report (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1950); S. Biesheuvel, *Manpower and Productivity in Africa South of the Sahara* (Johannesburg: NIPR, 1954).

102. N. Van der Walt, "The influence of incentives on the performances of African native mine-workers on a psychomotor test," M.A. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1972; Esther F. Adendorff, "The influence of tribal origin on the psychomotor test performance of African native mineworkers," M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1953; W. Hudson, "The occupational classification of Africans," Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1953; N. Mkele, "The validation of test procedures for the selection of African mechanical operatives on the Witwatersrand gold mines," M.A. thesis, University of South Africa, 1953; A.S. Labuschagne, "Perceptual tests for distinguishing

the question was put as to whether "African intelligence" was of the quality demanded by the world of industry and commerce.[103] The reaction of African labour to the mechanization process also constituted a matter of concern. Aptitude surveys and studies of the primary mental abilities of Africans in different age groups and under a variety of cultural and social environmental conditions were undertaken to determine the type of manpower available for industrial and agricultural development, and the possibilities of training African youth.[104] A commonly-shared argument was that "it is not lack of intelligence, or ineducability which causes his [the African's] inefficiency in industry, but the lack of adequate training."[105]

The significance of economic liberalism to the question of identity is that it created an appropriate environment for the questioning of earlier liberal images and modes of representation of African social life. If given the same opportunities, Africans, as proved by "race psychology," had the same capabilities and intellectual potential and work performance as whites. It brought the realization that the economy had led to a high degree of commonness between whites and blacks. The needs of the economy were stronger than the colour bar.

Two main factors seem to have determined the emergence and rapid development of economic liberalism in the 1960s: (1) the unprecedented rise of the organic composition of capital during the 1960s and 1970s, followed by considerable changes in the structure

differences in ability among Natives of Central Nyasaland," M.A. thesis University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1955; J.C. de Ridder, "An investigation into educational and occupational differences in test performance on a battery of adaptability tests designed for Africans," Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1956; C.O. Murray, "The structure of African intelligence; A factorial study of the abilities of Africans," MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1956; G.K. Nelson, "The significance of malnutrition for racial differences in mental development; an electroencephalographic study," MA thesis (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1958); C.F. Kruger, "Die keuring van voorjongens in die goudmyne," Ph.D. thesis, Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1959.

103. See for example Natal University, The African Factory Workers (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1950) pp. 96–102; E.G. Malherbe, "Occupation and intelligence," The Manufacturer, 1(4) 1951, pp. 22–26.

104. S. Biesheuvel, "The measurement of intelligence and aptitudes of African peoples," African Regional Scientific Conference, Johannesburg, October 1949, Vol. 2 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1950, pp. 339–344.

105. J. Fox, "Some aspects...op cit, p. 5.

and nature of the labour force; and (2) the influence of human capital theory, associated with modernization theory, which led to an emphasis on the economics of education. "Manpower planning" was a central feature of thinking within this school. There is a large and rich literature on human capital theory; only its application to South African education will be dealt with in this chapter.[106]

Throughout the sixties, the South African economy experienced massive expansion and deep qualitative changes in the form of capital accumulation. The rapid centralization and concentration of capital, on the back of exploited labour, was fuelled by large injections of foreign capital which made possible the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. The rise of the organic composition of capital led to two contradictory processes. On the one hand, it accelerated the expulsion of workers from the productive process; on the other, it expanded the need for suitably qualified skilled workers. This proceeded more rapidly than the supply of skilled labour trained by the educational system. The state tried to minimize the shortage of skilled labour by recruiting skilled white immigrants and by "floating" the colour bar and allowing limited numbers of blacks into semi-skilled and skilled occupations.[107] As Malherbe stressed in 1966, it was assumed that "further economic growth was quite impossible without the constant shifting of boundaries between the work done

106. For an overview of the human capital theory approach see: Finis Welch, "The human capital approach: An appraisal," American Economic Review, 65, 1975, pp. 63–73; Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, "The problem with human capital theory: A Marxian critique," American Economic Review, 65, 1975, pp. 74–82; I. Solve, "The human capital revolution in economic development: Its current history and status," Comparative Education Review, 22, 1978, pp. 278–308; A. Westoby, "Economics and human capital," in D. Holly (ed.), Education or Domination? (London: Arrow Books, 1979); and M. Blaug, "Economics of education in developing countries," Third World Quarterly, 1979, pp. 73–90. For a brief survey of the influence of human capital theory on South African education see: Johan Muller, "Some assumptions underlying the provision of education in South Africa," in David Freer & Peter Randall (eds.), Educating the Educators (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1982); Johan Muller, "Much ado: 'manpower crisis' and the De Lange Report," undated unpublished seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand; Pam Christie, "The De Lange Report and ourselves as ideologists," paper presented to the ASSA Regional Seminar, 1985; and Elias Links, "Racial discrimination and change in the South African labour market," conference paper, University of the Western Cape, 1984.

107. Rob Davies, "Capital restructuring and the modification of the racial division of labour in South Africa," Journal of Southern Africa Studies, 5, 1979, pp. 181–198.

by whites and work done by non-whites."[108] However, the limitations and price of recruitment of external manpower could not be maintained indefinitely. It had to be accompanied by the expansion of education. It was, in part, the increased recruitment of black students to secondary schools, without any comparable increase in expenditure on the expansion and extension of facilities, that led to the conditions of overcrowding and double-shift during the early 1970s, and to the dramatic growth in the students' frustration with the quality of schooling.[109]

As a result of the above developments, the 1970s saw the beginning of a period of marked instability of social identities and political frontiers as the discourses of apartheid increasingly lost their hegemony in favour of liberal ideals. To protect and expand the threatened white hegemony a new chain of equivalences gained momentum — a multi-racial state as "white suicide," the danger of black domination as exemplified in black Africa, "total onslaught" as an expression of increasing influence of liberalism—while through a strategy of inclusion and exclusion new forces were co-opted into the apartheid system. Homeland leaders were incorporated into the system while radical urban blacks were portrayed as inspired by communist influences. The co-option of moderate blacks culminated with the tri-cameral Parliament which brought the coloured and Indian communities into the system. Urban blacks were recognized as permanent residents in "white South Africa." Black trade unions were legalized. Liberalization and the increasing "deracialization" of the economy resulted in the relaxation of influx control and job reservations. Further, the apparent appropriation by the National Party of liberal notions of "free enterprise," a "free market society" and "western democracy" blurred the contours of white identity. As Norval has indicated, these measures led to the opening up of the dominant bloc to other racial groups, which resulted in a fundamental reconstitution of the nation which had previously accommodated only whites into the privileged inside.[110] The foundations of white and Afrikaner identity finally crumbled when the ruling party, under

108. E.G. Malherbe, "Into the seventies...," op cit, p. 36.
109. See J. Kane-Berman, *Soweto: Black Revolt and White Reaction* (Johannesburg and London: Ravan Press, 1978).
110. A.J. Norval, "Letter to Ernesto," in E. Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London, New York: Verso, 1990), p. 144.

F.W. de Klerk, began to consider a democratic alternative to apartheid.

Conclusion

Moderate though critical of some aspects of the dominant ideologies, liberal discourses had the effect of promoting political and social identities disarticulated from Afrikaner nationalist discourses. From their inception in the late nineteenth century, liberal discourses assumed the form of some criticism of aspects of the policies of segregation and apartheid. They emphasized the centrality of the recognition of individuals on the basis of "civilization" or culture rather than race.

Following rapid social change during the 1920s and 1930s, increased interest in the "natives" and, in particular, the education of blacks, liberals set themselves the project of fixing the political and social identities of the various social agents in a non-antagonistic manner. This project entailed different tasks. First, liberals challenged the most obsolete aspects of the policy of apartheid and exposed their effects on the lives of black people. Second, they set institutions to socialize Africans into liberal values and thus shift the dividing lines between white and black identities. By shifting the frontiers that divided whites from blacks they built bridges to co-opt into the dominant bloc and accommodate the growing mission-educated African elite, which began to emerge as an identifiable group. Third, the crucial mediating role which the black elite could play in this political context was recognized. However, this approach excluded the wide majority of "unassimilated," uneducated and tribal Africans, to whom the liberal discourse adopted a differential approach.

In the 1950s and 1960s, liberal discourses laid considerable stress on conditions of economic stability and growth through deracialization and liberalization of the economy, labour and growth through deracialization and liberalization of the economy, labour and educational facilities. The conception of white identity became less important than the notion of free enterprise and economic growth based on a western model. In the 1970s and 1980s, liberal educationists and the reformist wing of the P.W. Botha government, which took over much of the 1960s discourse in its De Lange Report, continued to express the view ever more stridently that lack of educational reform, state interventionism and rigid racial policies were having a damaging effect on economic growth, and that the resolution of South Africa's educa-

tional problems should involve paying greater attention to the advantages of a "free enterprise" economy. Particularly from the 1980s, liberal discourses were able to reassert themselves as the apartheid ideology lost its hegemony. Consequently, political frontiers shifted and social identities changed. Today dominant discourses have incorporated liberal concepts of liberty, freedom, democracy and identity. This explains why liberalism has been seen as one of the major threats to Afrikaner identity.

Chapter Eight

Neo-Marxism, Theory and Identity, 1970–1990

Neo-Marxism has been referred to as Marxist, neo-Marxist, radical or revisionist. As Johnstone puts it, "The labels are not so important and each has its virtues and limitations. Radical and revisionist are rather unspecific theoretically, but then, on the other hand, some of the new work is only partially or tangentially Marxist. Talking about a Marxist school is in many ways more appropriate, since the distinctive feature of this work has been that, in one way or another, it has taken the approach of historical materialism and class analysis."[1]

The schools crisis between 1976 and 1980, triggered by the student uprising against apartheid education, appears to have had the effect of radicalizing an important sector of the liberal establishment. As pointed out in the previous chapter, many South African liberals were engaged from the 1960s in an attempt to revitalise the economy, "deracialize" society and bring about western democracy in South Africa by promoting pragmatic technocratic ideas concerning man-power development. They emphasized the importance of the free market economy, "manpower planning" and training, and de-emphasized the "politics" which go with them. This caused much concern within radical circles and led to the emergence of radical discursive formations among academics and the political Left, drawing extensively on neo-Marxism and radical sociological theories. Dominating this process was a new generation of educationists and historians of education with a viewpoint startlingly opposed to the "liberal" and "nationalist" traditions.[2] They set themselves the task of challenging

1. Frederick Johnstone, "'Most painful to our hearts': South Africa through the eyes of the new school," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 16(1), 1982, p. 1.

2. For example Peter Kallaway, Pam Christie, Richard Levin, Linda Chisholm, Tony Fluxman, Jonathan Hyslop and Frank Molteno.

liberal and nationalist discourses by reviewing their approaches, and redirecting modes of thinking about education to meet the challenges of transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa. They argued that any objective analysis of an education system must be accomplished with the use of the tools of political economy and with reference to the contradictory nature of the colonial order itself, particularly in periods of rapid social change or crisis.[3] They emphasised that the liberal approach, which presented education as an independent field of enquiry, divorced from the wider economic, political, social and cultural context within which policies are formulated, was no longer acceptable. Further, an attempt merely to describe the development of educational policy, without at the same time trying to problematise either the process of schooling or the historical context of which it forms part, was also criticised.[4] In short, the view of South African educational developments broadly accepted by liberal academics for some time came to be seen as inadequate.

Not only did this new school argue for the use of the tools of political economy; in addition, it maintained that those social scientists of the early 1970s who had pioneered this approach in the broader fields of history and sociology had either neglected education and culture or had examined it solely in relation to the economy. Thus the new school of thought within educational studies could, at the same time, be seen as a "revisionist front" of the early political economy tradition in South African studies.[5]

This chapter examines the modes of representation embodied in radical/neo-Marxist discourses and their implications for identity construction in the 1970s and 1980s in South Africa. To promote emancipatory ideals and political practices, radical/neo-Marxist discourses emphasized the centrality of Marxist categories of "class" and "class struggle" and the role of the working class, as the basis for the construction of an anti-capitalist and anti-racist political identity embracing all those who shared working-class values and principles

3. Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p. 1.

4. Ibid, p. 5.

5. See, for example, Tony Fluxman, "Education and economy: A critique of S. Bowles & H. Gintis' 'Schooling in capitalist America,'" *Perspectives in Education*, 5(3), Nov. 1981, p. 3.

and were committed to the interests and the struggles of the working class. Embedded in these discourses were popular signifiers such as "people's education for people's power" and "people's history."

This chapter shows how the frontiers of identity which vacillated between race and ethnicity in liberal and Afrikaner nationalist discourses, shifted to class and gender in radical/neo-Marxist discursive formations. The chapter involves two levels of analysis. First, it shows how the crisis in education in the 1970s led to radicalisation within both liberal and radical circles, resulting in a paradigmatic shift towards the adoption of neo-Marxist frameworks in educational analysis and policy formulations. In so doing, it explores the following themes: (1) the advent of neo-Marxist historiography in the early 1970s and its increasing influence on social studies; (2) the emergence of a radical/neo-Marxist school of thought in educational studies in the early 1980s; (3) theoretical metamorphoses within this school; and (4) the crisis of revisionism in the 1990s as well as the prospects for a post-revisionist phase, or in Laclau's terminology, "post-Marxist" phase. This will highlight the processes of formation and the main tenets of radical/neo-Marxist discourses. Second, it discusses the imagery embodied in radical/neo-Marxist discourses and its implications for identity construction.

The chapter argues that the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid society must be thought about within a horizon of possibilities different from the rigid paradigmatic tradition in which radical change was conceptualized by the short-lived radical-neo-Marxist school in South African education. It shows that the imagery of the Left which dominated resistance struggles and radical discourses in education for about two decades has itself been put into question, forcing neo-Marxist movements to rethink their aims, strategies and theories. For example, South African history has already proved the fallacy of the historical role attributed to the working class as the main agent of social change. "Privileged subjects" in historical change are not pre-determined by any laws of social change but determined by the complex and unpredictable dynamics of political struggle.

From "History without Politics" to "History without Passion": The Historiographical Revolution of the 1970s

Through a critique of the classical political economy of capitalism, Marx came to a radically new approach to social phenomena whereby economic questions could no longer be reduced to technical questions[6], such as how production is organized or how productivity can be increased without further investment of capital. Economic questions came to be seen as having profound social, political and cultural implications and as addressing issues concerning an integrated totality of phenomena.[7] In whose interests is production organized? Who benefits? What are the ultimate goals in the process of distribution of wealth? By asking holistic questions about economic phenomena, Marx distinguished himself in the history of radical economics as the founder of Marxist political economy, which built its philosophical foundations on dialectical materialism and its theoretical foundations on historical materialism.[8] Class and class struggle are its main analytical categories. The founders of neo-Marxist political economy in South African studies in the 1970s followed a similar path.[9] For them, the nature and the dynamics of South African social

6. For details see K. Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (London: Penguin, 1971) and K. Marx, Capital 3 Vols (Moscow: Progress, 1962).

7. Ibid.

8. See K. Marx, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in K. Marx and F. Engels, Marx-Engels Selected Works, Vol. 1, (Moscow: Progress, 1969) and F. Engels, Karl Marx's Theory of History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

9. See for example Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid," Economy and Society, 1(4), November 1972, pp. 424–456; F.A. Johnstone, "Class conflict and colour bars in the South African gold mining industry, 1910–1926," in Collected Seminar Papers (University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, October 1969–April 1970); F.A. Johnstone, "White prosperity and white supremacy in South Africa today," African Affairs, LXIX (1970), pp. 125–140; F.A. Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); Stanley Trapido, "South Africa in a comparative study of industrialization," Journal of Development Studies, 7 (1970); M. Legassick, "South African capital accumulation and violence," Economy and Society, 3(3), 1974, pp. 253–91; M. Legassick, "The making of South African 'native' policy, 1903–1923: The origins of segregation," in Collected Papers (University of London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1974).

formation could be understood only within the framework of a Marxist political economy.

What specifically characterizes this school of thought? There is no simple answer to this question. Political economy does not represent a single method or theory. There are different methods and theories in the tradition of political economy. The distinctive feature here is that neo-Marxists drew on Marx's method of historical and dialectical materialism and on theories of social change produced by Marxist political economists.[10] Within this paradigm society is conceptualised not as a motionless body of structures or objects, but as dynamic and in a constant process of change and flux as water in a river. Class is assumed to be the basis of social organisation and class struggle the driving force of history. Generally, economic relations and class struggle are assumed as determining every sphere of social life, particularly the political, ideological and religious 'upper-floors' of society.

Neo-Marxism in South Africa: Its Theoretical Frontiers

As already pointed out, in South Africa the neo-Marxist school represented a challenge to liberal and nationalist paradigmatic assumptions concerning the nature and the future of South African society and its economic and racial systems, which had dominated Southern African studies.[11] Liberalism came to be regarded as a dis-

10. F.A. Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts': South Africa through the eyes of the new school," Canadian Journal of African Studies, 16 (1), 1982, pp. 2–26, p. 6.

11. For a review of the debate see Harrison M. Wright, The Burden of the Present: Liberal-Radical Controversy over South African History (Cape Town: David Philip, 1977); K.R. Hughes, "Challenges from the past: Reflections on liberalism and radicalism in the writing of Southern African history," Social Dynamics 3(1), 1977, p. 47; Basil A. Le Cordeur, "The reconstruction of South African history," presidential address delivered to the tenth biennial conference of the South African Historical Society at the University of Cape Town, 15 January 1983; Shula Marks, "Towards a people's history of South Africa? Recent developments in the historiography of South Africa," in R. Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 297–308; F. Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts...," op cit; Frederick Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); Anthony Atmore and Nancy Westlake, "A liberal dilemma: A critique of the Oxford History of South Africa," Race 14 (1972), pp. 107–136; and John W. Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy—The

course of identity construction, a voice of conscience rather than a mode of explanation: "the liberal tradition in general is long on morality and short on explanation."[12] Several liberal assumptions came under fire, namely: (1) the assumption that the categories in which social life is lived in a particular society—e.g. race, ethnicity, racism, nationalism, prejudice—are the correct categories in terms of which social life should be analyzed and explained;[13] (2) the assumption that segregation and apartheid were residual phenomena from a pre-industrial stage in South African history;[14] (3) the assumption that as South African society developed into a modern, industrial/capitalist or free-market stage, segregation/apartheid as outdated phenomena, would consequently fall away;[15] and (4) the assumption that segregation/apartheid are incompatible with a modern industrial society.[16]

To support their criticism, neo-Marxists pointed to the fact that South Africa had developed one of the most powerful industrial sectors in the world and an increasingly autonomous financial sector.[17] The economic boom of the 1960s discredited the liberal argument that apartheid and growth were incompatible. The so-called Second Great Trek—the reintegration of "poor whites" into mainstream urban and industrial society—had been successfully completed.[18] Fewer than 10% of South African whites remained employed in agriculture.[19] However, segregation hardened into apartheid and the prospects of its final abolition were still uncertain. Apartheid came to be seen not as a pre-capitalist phenomenon, but as a recent phenomenon, an *organic* part of modern, industrial and capitalist South Africa.[20] Once again, the relationship between the apartheid system and the economy came to the centre of debates between liberals and

op cit, p. 23.

Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

12. Hughes, "Challenges from the past...," op cit, p. 47.
13. Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts...," op cit, p. 6.
14. Ibid, p. 7 and Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy...*, op cit, p. 7.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid, p. 8.
18. Ibid, p. 9.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid, p. 81. For discussion of this argument see also Laclau, *New Reflections...*,

radicals, paving the path to the development of a Marxist social theory, in which concern with theoretical rigour had very often led to the neglect of empirical evidence. An important theme was whether race or class constituted the appropriate category of analysis to understand the complexity of South Africa.

Analytical concerns focused on those questions which appeared fundamental to a Marxist political economy:

Who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? Who does what to whom? Who does what for whom? How are who does what and who gets what linked to whom? What and who controls what? How is all this linked to what is going on in society and history?[21]

Therefore, the neo-Marxist school concentrated on the functional linkages between capitalism and racial domination in terms of class analysis based on a conception of capitalism as a class-divided, exploitative and conflictual system.[22] It also took economic relations and structures as having an overwhelmingly determining effect on the social structures of society.[23] The themes included issues such as periodisation, the state, class fractions and alliances, class hegemony, imperialism and national capital, the white workers, the role of gold, and the importance of economic and political factors in the capital-accumulation process.[24]

A major weakness remained the inability to grapple with non-economic factors in history and society such as subjectivity, identity and culture, particularly the power of Afrikaner nationalism over the political and social life of the various groups. Johnstone argued for example that "the historical and sociological significance of Afrikaner nationalism cannot be entirely grasped merely in these new and im-

21. Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts...," op cit, p. 8.
22. Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts...," op cit, p. 8. see for example Martin Legassick, "South Africa: Capital accumulation and violence," *Economy and Society* 3 (1974), pp. 253–91; S. Trapido, "South Africa in a comparative study of industrialisation," *Journal of Development Studies*, 7 (1971); Harold Wolpe, "capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid," *Economy and Society*, 1 (1972), pp. 425–456.
23. S. Hall, "Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance," in UNESCO, *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (Poole: Sydenham Printers, 1980), pp. 304–7.
24. Johnstone, "Most painful to our hearts...," op cit, p. 22.

portant terms of its class instrumentality."[25] The neo-Marxist school thus faced the challenge of combining its strengths with sensitivity to the cultural and subjective dimensions of social life, human agency and actors' choices in real and complex historical situations, which other approaches offered.[26] As Le Cordeur pointed out, "the absence of the human dimension in this 'history without passion' invests it with an air of unreal lifelessness."[27] What was required was a synthesis which combined structuralist and interactionist perspectives.[28]

Against Economic Reductionism: Social History or "History from Below"

During the second half of the 1970s, revisionists started questioning their initial analyses. A new approach emerged representing a shift from the "economic" to social relations, relations between different racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Its general feature was the fact that it stressed the autonomy, the non-reductiveness, of race and ethnicity as social factors—the relative autonomy of ideology, politics, race, culture. This is what has been described as "writing history 'from the bottom up' or history from below."[29] Neo-classical studies produced by early radical and Marxist social scientists such as Johnstone, Davies and Wolpe, and early works of Legassick, Trapido and Marks, were followed by a remarkable proliferation of Marxist-sounding "social history" works in the main South African institutions (the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town), supported by progressive publishers such as Ravan Press and David Philip.[30] Rex's work represents an important attempt

25. Ibid., p. 24.
26. Ibid., p. 25.
27. Basil A. Le Cordeur, "The reconstruction of South African history...," op cit, p. 2.
28. For a review of this trend see Christopher Saunders, "Reflections on the state of South African History at the beginning of the 1980s," in D.I. Ray, P. Shinnie and D. Williams (eds), *Into the Seventies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of African Studies* (Vancouver, 1981), pp. 233–240.
29. Hughes, "Challenges from the past...," op cit, p. 45.
30. S. Marks and S. Trapido, "Lord Milner and the South State," *History Workshop Journal*, 8, 1979; B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Class, Community and Conflict* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987); Burman & Reynolds (eds), *Growing up in a Divided Society*, op cit; Alex Callinicos & John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto

to analyze race and class phenomena within a Weberian framework and a radical non-conflict model.[31] In the 1980s, neo-Marxism became almost a standard paradigm in the main Centres for African Studies and the History and Sociology departments of the English-speaking universities. In 1980, Charney quoted Charles van Onselen, director of the Wits African Studies Institute, as expressing his satisfaction with the victory of the Left in this way: "We've largely won our battle against the liberals. In the social sciences, we dictate the terms."[32]

Revisionism in Education: The Political Economy of Education

However, it is noteworthy that neo-Marxist political economy did not penetrate the educational field before 1980. Webster's claim, in 1977, that any analysis of the history of education should be located in the political economy of its time seems not to have produced any immediate echo.[33] Shortly thereafter, historians and sociologists of education were drawn into a revisionist debate against the economic reductionism and structuralism which dominated early neo-Marxist studies in the political economy of South Africa. As the notion of relative autonomy was applied to the ideological sphere, it became clear that issues such as education, culture and politics could be dealt with

Press, 1978), 2nd edition; M. Swilling & T. Lodge, "The year of the Amabutho," *Africa Report*, January–February 1986; M. Swilling, "'Because your yard is too big': Squatter struggles, the local state and dual power in Uitenhage," University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; M. Swilling, "Stayaways, urban protest and the state," *South African Review*, (3), 1986, pp. 20–50; I. Seekings, "Why was Soweto different? Urban development, township politics, and the political economy of Soweto, 1977–1984," African Studies Seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.
31. See for example P. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1965); J. Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); J. Rex, *Race Relations in Sociological Theory* (Paris: UNESCO, 1981); J. Rex (ed.), *Apartheid and Social Research* (Weisenfield & Nicholson, 1970); and L. Kuper, *Race, Class and Power* (London: Duckworth, 1974).
32. Craig Charney, "Thinking of revolution: The new South African intelligentsia," *Monthly Review*, 38, December 1986, p. 16.
33. E. Webster, "Brigid Limerick's abstracted empiricism," *Perspectives in Education*, 1(3), 1977, pp. 193–97.

in terms of their particular logic, i.e as relatively independent from the determination of the material basis. This opened new horizons to the Left, which saw neo-Marxist analyses of education as providing a basis for the realization of the project of radical or socialist democracy in South Africa. The critique of economic reductionism was followed by the debate.about the uses and limitations of "reproduction theory" in education, in an attempt to explain the nature and role of Bantu Education in society. This debate was conducted locally in the journals *Perspectives in Education* and *Africa Perspective*, followed by *Social Dynamics*, between 1980 and 1982. In 1984 the major expression of this new mode of thinking was found in the publication of Peter Kallaway's *Apartheid and Education*,[34] which drew on a wide range of scholars. Bill Nasson's work for the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry into Poverty in South Africa involved a significant evaluation of the debate.[35]

Different reasons can be advanced for the emergence of the radical/neo-Marxist school. Among these must be the heightened conflict in education, demonstrated by the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement, based primarily in schools and universities during the early 1970s, the uprisings of 1976 and the school boycotts of 1980. These developments generated the view that the priorities and questions which were popular amongst educationists and other academics during the sixties and seventies were irrelevant in the light of new developments. Their theoretical emphasis was, in addition, profoundly conditioned by both the neo-Marxist political economy tradition in Southern African studies and the repercussions of the influence of "reproduction theory" in the sociology of education. The main

34. *Apartheid and Education* involved a somewhat different project. Most of its contributors attempted to demonstrate how Marxist political economy and historical materialism, applied to the educational field, could provide a better understanding of educational developments in South Africa than the earlier liberal approaches. The book is largely devoted to a critique of the liberal interpretation of education within apartheid, African responses to Bantu Education, and state strategies in education. It provided both an historical-philosophical and a contemporary analysis of South African education. The introduction suggested a reorientation of the approach to education in the light of political economy.

35. Bill Nasson, "Education and poverty: Some perspectives," Carnegie Conference paper No. 94, 1983; and Bill Nasson, "Bitter harvest: Farm schooling for black South Africans," Carnegie Conference paper No. 97 (undated).

sources of "reproduction theory" in the mid-1970s were Althusser, and Bowles and Gintis.[36] I shall return to this point in subsequent sections.

The Case Against Liberal Discourses in Education

Of particular concern for the neo-Marxist school was the "manpower planning" discourse promoted by many liberals since the early 1960s. Neo-Marxists argued that posing educational problems as questions of manpower planning produced technicist solutions, rather than the political and economic solutions that were required. They maintained that, beneath this apolitical formulation of the problem, lay the assumption that the removal of the more backward features of apartheid would lead to the emergence of a liberal capitalist democracy. This approach, they argued, would lead to notions of equality of opportunity but not to equal education. Kallaway interpreted it as a strategy "designed to change and modify social conditions that have become widely regarded as unjust and unacceptable" and as serving to "strengthen and perpetuate essential power relations (class relations)...if introduced on their own, without corresponding economic and political changes."[37] In addition, drawing on the "new sociology of education" and radical critiques of schooling in capitalist societies, neo-Marxists criticised the liberal school for treating educational and political development as a neutral and independent process. It was

presented as a process of "natural" and "unproblematic" growth...rather than as the outcome of a complex historical process in which each new development is contested by the interested parties...while conflicts over the form and the content of educational policies are masked and struggles between the various interested parties are hidden. The dominant tradition of educational research hides a belief in

36. See Althusser, "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses," in B.J. Cosin (ed.) *Education, Structure and Society* (London: Penguin, 1977); and S. Bowles & H. Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America*(London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).
37. Kallaway (ed.), op cit, p. 15.

some simple history of educational progress, a history with no costs, no struggles, no ambiguities.[38]

A third criticism made was excessive concentration on the history of white schooling and on empiricism.[39] These assumptions, claimed the radicals, led liberals to overlook crucial questions in educational research such as: What are schools for? Whose interests do they serve? What kinds of knowledge or skills do they reproduce? What is their relationship to the labour market?

The main implication of neo-Marxist criticisms of the liberal school for the analyses of education is that any attempt to grasp the history and dynamics of education in South Africa must be done with reference to broader economic, social and political processes. General formulations about the intentions of educational policies are of little use unless we examine what they come to mean in practice, against the background of the process of class differentiation and relations. The key aspect to be noted here is that colonization also entailed cultural and ideological transformation, in which schools—whether conducted by missionaries or by agents of the colonial government—were major agents. Another implication is that while schools were to a large extent instruments of incorporation they were also systematically appropriated by colonized peoples and played an important historical role as sites of struggle in the colonial context. Also, in terms of South Africa's future, educational planning or policy that fails to locate educational issues within the broader framework of economic and political change, it is argued, runs the risk of naivete and irrelevance. However, this chapter argues that the main limitation of the neo-Marxists was that they overemphasized the "class determination" and the role of "class struggle" in the development of progressive or radical consciousness. By doing so, they neglected a wide range of possibilities that the arena of politics offers to the same category of social agents and, most importantly, the role played by the articulation of different kinds of hegemonic struggles over a variety of interests in shaping social and political identities. Before exploring this argument, it is pertinent to put into perspective the neo-Marxist debate on schooling and society in South Africa.

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38. Ibid, p. 15.
39. Ibid, pp. 4–5.

Culture, Schooling and Society

Of significant relevance to this debate was Althusser's theory of social reproduction as outlined in his *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. In summary, Althusser distinguishes between (1) state power as control of the state and (2) the state apparatus as those instruments of the state which help to secure conditions necessary for capital-accumulation. Within the state apparatus he distinguishes between the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatus. The former includes the government, administration, courts, police and army, while the latter comprises all cultural and educational institutions such as schools, religion, the family, and trade unions. The repressive state apparatus functions largely by violence and the ideological state apparatus functions largely by ideology. The reproduction of the social relations of production is ensured through a dialectical interaction of the two state apparatuses. The outstanding feature of Althusser's theory is that it considers the school as transmitter of culture to occupy the dominant position within the ideological state apparatus.[40] The school is thus assumed as having a critical role in the reproduction of relations of domination and subordination.

Althusser's work evoked a considerable response in South Africa. One of the first reactions amongst South African scholars came in 1978 from Chisholm, who considered it in relation to South African textbooks. She questioned his conceptions in the light of student resistance in South Africa, arguing that he failed to provide an adequate theoretical base which could account for such resistance.[41] Indeed, if the function of schools was to reproduce subservience as a prerequisite to maintaining relations of subordination, how does one explain the political identity which mobilized school children to challenge the system of Bantu Education? However, Althusser and Chisholm had in mind different historical realities. A stronger response came from Levin in 1980. For him there was a distinct economism implicit in Althusser's formulations about the nature of the state, which he conceived of as homogeneous. Using Poulantzas' contribution that the dominant classes are not monolithic, but are organised at different points in time by different fractions which attain

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40. See Althusser, op cit.
41. L. Chisholm, "Ideology, legitimation of the status quo and history textbooks in South Africa," *Perspectives in Education*, 5(3), 1981, p. 135.

hegemony within the state, Levin argued that the functioning of education is correspondingly more complex than that suggested by Althusser. Furthermore, he argued that Althusser failed to elucidate the specific relationship which educational institutions have with the economic level of a social formation. He adopted the position of Hussein, who attributes to the labour market the crucial role of providing the link between education and the economy.[42] Despite, for example, his criticisms of the functionalism of Althusser's argument, he provided an essentially functionalist understanding of the origins and purposes of Bantu Education.

Bowles and Gintis later developed the Althusserian thesis, positing that the social relations of the school reproduce the social relations of economic life. Their book discusses the failure of educational reform in the USA to alter socio-economic and educational inequalities. It argues that the causes of the persistent failure of reform lie in the constraints that the capitalist economy imposes on the educational system.[43] Their arguments came under strong attack from Fluxman, who argued that Bowles and Gintis fell into a double reductionism: on the one hand, a reductionism of structure (all social institutions are conceived of as possessing the same social structure, that of production) and, on the other, a reductionism of the class struggle (the struggles in education and the economy are reduced to the effects of simple contradiction between capital and labour). He concluded by formulating some of the conditions which a non-reductionist theory of schooling in a capitalist society would have to fulfil. Reasoning closely along the lines of Althusser and Poulantzas, he suggested that such an analysis would have to take into account the specificity of the educational apparatuses as well as the complex nature of the class struggle.

Since education is an ISA [ideological state apparatus], it is subject to the effects of the struggle between classes, class fractions, social strata and categories which are constituted at the level of the economy, of politics in general, specifically the state, as well as being subject to the effects of struggles occurring at the level of the economy. Thus an

42. R. Levin, "Black education, class struggle and the dynamics of change in South Africa since 1946," *Africa Perspective*, 17, 1980, p. 18.
43. Bowles and Gintis, op cit.

adequate analysis of education would have to incorporate an investigation of the role the educational ISA in any specific social formation plays in the production of the ideology of the hegemonic fraction in the state. It would also have to allow the possibility that ideologies that contradict the hegemonic ideologies (either the ideologies of rival fractions of capital or fractions of working class) might develop and even become dominant within the educational ISA. Furthermore, it would have to take account of the other social fractions, social strata and categories which would have specific effects on the production of ideology in the educational ISA ... bureaucracy ... intellectuals ... and petty-bourgeoisie.[44]

Shapiro applied a combination of the above analyses to the introduction of Bantu Education.[45] In her article she stressed that education cannot be understood apart from the social context within which it operates. Her main contribution was an attempt to theorize *conflict* in education. She did so by arguing that there is a contradiction between the function of education and the knowledge that is provided through it.[46] This is a contradiction at the heart of any ideological state apparatus. There followed an attack from Chisholm and Sole whose main concern was the by now unproblematic acceptance of the "ahistorical and mechanistic accounts of education," which paid "little heed to class struggle as a fundamental feature of class society," produced by the Althusser/Bowles and Gintis problematic. They urged, instead, concrete analyses of the way in which educational institutions in South Africa have mediated complex class and social struggles. They also called for recognition of the possibilities of "ideologies of the exploited" resulting in transformative practice.[47]

This debate was played out by Collins and Christie, and also Hyslop, using Bantu Education to exemplify the usefulness of reproduc-

44. Fluxman, "Education and economy...," op cit, pp. 166–167.
45. Janet Shapiro, "Education in a capitalist society: How ideology functions," *Perspectives in Education*, 5(2), 1981.
46. Ibid, pp. 100–101.
47. L. Chisholm & K. Sole, "Education and class struggle," *Perspectives in Education*, 5(2), 1981, p. 115.

tion theory.[48] Frank Molteno, in his work on the 1980 student boycotts in Cape Town, summed up the debate, arguing that:

So long as the burden of selection/sorting/examination is placed on schooling in an unequal and class society, then "reproduction" perspective must be taken into account.... This does not mean that schooling has to do with nothing apart from the role in social reproduction or that schooling plays whatever role it does in this regard because social reproduction requires it to.[49]

Nonetheless, he added the important rider that reproduction theory "renders any notion of failure inconceivable," since such failure "must imply the failure on the part of theories of reproduction too."[50] Briefly, social conditions and resistance in education in South Africa prompted considerable debate about the usefulness of the reproduction theory. Applied to the specific context, its weaknesses became manifest. Attempts at theoretical refinement have recently been accompanied by a systematic scrutiny of the American resistance theories developed by Giroux and Aronowitz. This has been in response to the need to formulate adequate frameworks for an understanding of the increasing social conflict in South African education.[51]

48. See Pam Christie & Colin Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid ideology and labour reproduction," in P. Kallaway (ed), op cit; J. Hyslop, "The contradictory class location of African teachers," seminar paper, ASSA Regional Seminar, Mafikeng, April 1985; J. Hyslop, "Teachers and trade unions," South African Labour Bulletin, 11(6), 1986; J. Hyslop, "Aspects of the failure of Bantu Education as a hegemonic strategy: School boards, school committees and educational politics 1955–1976," History Workshop, 9–14 February 1987; J. Hyslop, "School student movements and state education policy: 1972–1987," Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, April 1987; J. Hyslop, "Food, authority and politics: Student riots in South African schools, 1945–1976," Africa Perspective, (4), 1987; J. Hyslop, "Let us cry for our children: Lessons of the 1955-6 school boycotts," Transformation 4, 1987; J. Hyslop, "State education policy and the social reproduction of the urban African working class 1955-76: the case of the Southern Transvaal," Journal of Southern African Studies, 14(3), April 1988, pp. 446–476.

49. Frank Molteno, "Reflections on resistance: aspects of the 1980 students' boycotts," Kenton Conference Proceedings, 1983, p. 56.

50. Ibid, pp. 55–56.

51. See Henry A. Giroux, Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983); Henry A. Giroux, "Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analy-

People's History

In South Africa, the "economic" fever of the 1970s was superseded by the advent of "social history" which focuses on the complexity of the superstructural features of South African society—culture, ideology and politics.[52] The most outstanding feature of this approach was the development of "people's history," which had an increasing impact in the main fields of social inquiry, particularly history, sociology, political science and educational studies. "People's history" is one of several signifiers appropriated by popular movements in Britain and South Africa and then given a theoretical meaning as a framework for production of a particular kind of history. Its origins are bound up with the 1976-1980 school crisis. The crisis in education precipitated by the tragedy of Soweto in 1976 culminated in a nationwide mobilisation of popular movements. Out of these movements emerged the call for "people's education for people's power" in 1986 as a counter to apartheid education and as a vision for an alternative education system. This was followed by a call for "people's history" in 1987.

People's history is essentially anti-apartheid history, i.e. history written explicitly as a counter to the racist and elitist stereotypes and perversions that have characterised the history propagated, especially in government schools. It is "popular" history in that "it deliberately seeks to bring the black underclasses into South African history, and at the same time is written primarily for a readership drawn from

sis," Harvard Educational Review, 53(3), August 1983, pp. 257–293; and Stanley Aronowitz & Henry A. Giroux, Education Under Siege (Massachusets: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1985).

52. B. Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); B. Bozzoli (ed.), Class, Community and Conflict (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987); Alex Callinicos & John Rogers, Southern Africa after Soweto (London: Pluto Press, 1978), 2nd edition; M. Swilling & T. Lodge, "The year of the Amabutho," Africa Report, January–February 1986; M. Swilling, "Because your yard is too big: Squatter struggles, the local state and dual power in Uitenhage, 1985-1986," unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; M. Swilling, "Stayaways, urban protest and the state," South African Review, (3), 1986, pp. 20–50; J. Seekings, "Why was Soweto different? Urban development, township politics, and the political economy of Soweto, 1977–1984," African Studies Seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

those classes."[53] People's history is thus an alternative to the perspective of the "Great Man" approach to history. It is the history of the "ordinary people," the oppressed and exploited masses, viewed not as simple objects of a particular intellectual activity but as active subjects of the very same activity. The main thrust of people's history is that it recognizes, though sometimes it tends to overemphasize and reify, the "lived experience" of ordinary people. Most importantly, the people's history perspective draws on popular discourses of South African history, thus accounting for the various and complex ways ordinary people process and make sense of their past, in dance, art, songs and so forth. As pointed out in Chapter Two, this project could widen the frontiers of the domain of history and cultural production and diminish the silences which have prevailed in this activity.[54]

Perhaps the main weakness of radical/neo-Marxists was their almost complete inability to locate cultural phenomena in domains which do not follow strictly on the logic of class relationships and the social stratification determined by the changing South African political economy. This can be illustrated by a brief foray into histories of working class cultures in South Africa. Erlman considers that Coplan was one of the first researchers to show interest in African working-class culture when he initiated his research in South Africa on 17 June 1976. He points out however that in the decade following Coplan's fieldwork, revisionist historiography expanded and consolidated itself, and "whatever merits Coplan's book may have as one of the first attempts to explore the complex issues of class and culture in

53. John Wright, "Popularising the pre-colonial past: Politics and problems," *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2), 1989/90, p. 47. For more details see L. Callinicos, *Gold and Workers* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980); *New Nation*, "People's History series," issue of 23 October–5 November 1986, onwards; C. Hamilton & H. Webster, "The struggle for control over the voices of the past and the socialising role of pre-colonial history: Perspectives on the production of pre-colonial education materials," *Perspectives in Education*, 10/2, 1988/9, pp. 53–60; History Commission, "What is History?" A New Approach to History for Students, Workers and Communities (Johannesburg: Skotaville Educational Division, 1987); L. Callinicos, "The People's History Workshop," University of the Witwatersrand, February 1987; Cynthia Kros, "The making of class: Beyond model curricula—A preliminary critique of the presentation of history in South African schools," *Perspectives in Education*, 10(1), 1988, pp. 84–86; and Leslie Witz, "Write your own history" (Johannesburg: SACHED Trust/Ravan Press, 1988).

54. See Chapter Two section on "Texts and silences...."

South African black performing arts, they are impaired by his failure to incorporate the current debates on ideology and class cultures. Frankel's conceptualisations of African political culture in South Africa cannot escape this charge either.[56]

Revisionist historiography of class cultures gained momentum with works by such authors as Bundy, Glaser, La Hausse, Nkomo, and, in particular, Bonner.[57] A common concern in this literature is the need to fill the vast space between the broad processes of proletarianisation and the different cultural expressions including organised political action. Some literature has undertaken the task of tracing the "contours of community, class and culture."[58] For example, Bonner argues that a distinctive black urban culture on the Rand seems to have been distilled out of a diversity of sources in the second decade of the 20th century, involving cultural elements from the Afrikaans, Malay, coloured, Afro-American, British missionary and Oorlams communities.[59] He distinguishes three main sources: (1) the

55. Veit Erlman, Review: "In Township Tonight," *Africa Perspective*, 1(3), 1987, p. 126.

56. P. Frankel, "Political culture and revolution in Soweto," *Journal of Politics*, 43, August 1981, pp. 831–849.

57. C. Bundy, "Street sociology and pavement politics: aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13(3), April 1987, pp. 301–330; C. Bundy, "South Africa on the switchback" and "Schools and revolution," *New Society*, 3 & 7, January 1986; Paul la Hausse, "'Mayihlome'! towards an understanding of Amalaita gangs in Durban, c. 1900–1930," African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987; M.O. Nkomo, *Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities* (Westport: Greenwood, 1984); M.O. Nkomo, "The contradictions of Bantu Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, 51(1), 1981; P.L. Bonner, "Black urban cultures and the politics of black squatter movements on the rand, 1944–1955," unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; P.L. Bonner, "Family, crime and political consciousness on the East Rand 1939–1955," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp. 393–420 (for this chapter I used the 1987 unpublished version); and C. Glaser, "Students, tsotsis and the Congress Youth League: Youth organisation on the Rand in the 1940s and 1950s," *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2), 1988/9, pp. 1–15; M. Swilling & T. Lodge, "The year of the Amabutho," *Africa Report*, January–February 1986.

58. P.L. Bonner, "Black urban cultures and the politics of black squatter movements on the Rand, 1944–1955," unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988, p.1. For further details see P.L. Bonner, "Family, crime and political consciousness on the East Rand 1939–1955," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp. 393–420.

59. Bonner, 1988, "Black urban cultures...," op cit, p. 1.

educated Christian black middle class; (2) the Cape coloured and Oorlams community; and (3) the vast proletarian mass that laboured in the mine shafts, the kitchens and stores, particularly the section of these migrants that failed to remain anchored in either homestead or compound and became cultural brokers and innovators in the towns.[60] The exchange of cultural experiences between these groups, fomented by external influences from the neighbouring countries and Afro-American elements, was behind the creation of the black urban cultures.

Bonner concentrates on working-class cultures which seem to incorporate street gang cultures. Middle-class cultures are somewhat neglected or remain as simple sources of the black urban culture—this can possibly be justified by the limited significance of this social stratum in the 1940s and 1950s, the period dealt with in his work. In general his work points to a close relationship—which should not be assumed unproblematically—between, on the one hand, the process of class stratification and class subculturalisation and, on the other, parent class cultures and youth subcultures. The role played by race in the process remains obscure, but what does emerge in his work is an idea of the process of acculturation and subculturalisation as a "melting-pot" where class rather than ethnicity and race assume dominance. Nonetheless, Bonner's contribution represents an important innovation in South African cultural studies.

Class Analysis Revisited

What Marx defined as the *historical role* of the working class, that is, the centrality of the working class as the fundamental social agent in bringing about a socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie, has considerably influenced many South African cultural studies.[61] How-

60. Ibid, pp. 2–6.
61. See for example the following extract by Alexander:

Because of the peculiarities of capitalist development in South Africa, the only way in which racial discrimination and racial inequality, i.e. national oppression, can be abolished is through the abolition of the capitalist structures themselves. The only class, however, which can bring into being such a (socialist) system is the *black working class*. On it, by virtue of its unique historical position, devolves the task of mobilizing all the oppressed and exploited classes for the abolition of the system of racial capitalism (Neville Alexander, "Approaches to the national question in South Africa," *Transformation*, 1, 1986, p. 84).

ever, there seems to be no evidence that the working class has ever filled the historical role attributed to it by Marx. The political centrality of the working class requires that the working class comes our of itself, to transform its own identity by articulating to it a plurality of struggles and democratic demands. However, this articulatory role seems to have been assigned to it by the economic base.[62] As already pointed out, this absence of human dimension and human passion invests the history of the working class with an air of lifelessness.[63] The role of the working class within emancipatory struggles cannot be understood in isolation, outside the terrain of other social struggles and antagonisms in society and without reference to possible mediations. Further, the direction of the workers' struggle is not uniformly progressive. It depends, just as with any other social struggle, upon its forms of articulation within a given hegemonic context. By articulation here I mean any practice establishing a relation between elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. From this point of view, the very orientation of the working class depends upon a political balance of forces and the radicalization of a plurality of democratic struggles and cultural practices, which are decided in good part outside the class itself.

As Laclau and Mouffe have pointed out, the era of the "privileged" subjects—in the ontological not practical sense—of the anti-capitalist struggle has been superseded.[64] No class or social movement can be taken *a priori* as progressive by virtue of its class nature. Its progressiveness depends upon its hegemonic articulation with other struggles or demands. It is a question that requires further elaboration within the world socialist movement. Recent South African history is rich in examples to illustrate this argument: the history of conflict between white and black working class agents, tensions between the different political groups (AZAPO, PAC and Inkatha), rivalry between youth organizations and so forth. Certainly workers organized within COSATU have played a central role in the struggle for democratic and non-racial South Africa; but other forces not emanating from a working-class background have also played an important

62. See E. Laclau & C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: The Thetford Press, 1985), p. 8.
63. See Chapter Eight, p. 8.
64. Ibid, p. 86.

role. Furthermore, there are other working-class trade unions, which have played a very reactionary role in the process.

Radical Discourses in South Africa: Future Prospects

This chapter is not a case against neo-Marxism and class analysis,[65] but warns against the limitations of class reductionism in analyses of social activities and discursive formations which are not necessarily determined by the logic of class or class struggle. In 1985, at the moment when the antagonism dividing nationalist, liberal and Marxist identities was at its climax, asked to make a choice between liberal and Marxist approaches, I replied with the following comment:

It is not clear that there is any advantage in labelling different social scientists, whatever the labels (conservative, liberal, radical, Marxist, neo-Marxist, right-wing liberal, left-wing liberal, extreme-right-wing liberal or radical, or conservative, etc., etc.). Like many other labels, they probably conceal as much as they reveal. They tend to obscure the fundamental differences between those who think dialectically, and those whose thinking is criterion-based or categorical [refers to analytical philosophy of education]. Rather, it seems that *what is important for a social scientist is his/her ability to critically discern, select, and develop or use the theoretical tools provided by the different schools of thought which can more easily and safely lead to the intelligibility of the social reality, without being arrested by unnecessary scholarly apartheid.*[66]

65. For this purpose see the debate on Post-Marxism: Ernesto Laclau & Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony & Socialist Strategy— Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: The Thetford Press, 1985); Norman Geras, "Post-Marxism?," *New Left Review*, May/June 1987; Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, "Post-Marxism without apologies," op cit; and Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections...*, op cit.

66. M. Cross, "Open the parcels and check inside before you stick on the labels: a response to P. Enslin's 'Is the dominant tradition in studies of education in South Africa a liberal one?'" *Perspectives in Education*, 8(3), July 1985, pp. 163–164. To avoid misunderstanding the article added the following comment:

However, there are some labels which are conventionally accepted as terms of reference of the different schools of thought. In this sense, the terms "liberal,"

The interpretation of this passage is, in the context of the objectives of this chapter is, in Laclau and Mouffe's words, that "there is not one discourse and one system of categories through which the 'real' might speak without mediations."[67] To be or not to be Marxist in terms of identity construction represents a continuous process of making and re-making ourselves, and ourselves in relation to others. Nobody is born "Marxist" or "Socialist." This is a product of life-choices and contingencies. If the Left's current rethinking of traditional social theory is to be helpful in actually changing anything, it must do more than regurgitate Marx in different ways. It has to set a whole new transformatory project which takes seriously the question of identity. This is not to suggest that the Left should start again on a clean sheet or more precisely that the Left's class analysis and class struggle must be finally buried. Certainly the project must include elements of continuity and elements of discontinuity. In this regard, I would like to reiterate Laclau's observations about paradigmatic changes and epistemological breaks:

The surpassing of a great intellectual tradition never takes place in the sudden form of a collapse, but in the way that river waters, having originated at common source, spread in various directions and mingle with currents flowing down from other sources. This is how the discourses that constituted the field of classical Marxism may help to form the thinking of a new left: by bequeathing some of their concepts, transforming or abandoning others, and diluting themselves in that infinite intertextuality of emancipatory discourses in which the plurality of the social takes shape.[68]

There is also a need to recognize difference and a plurality of possibilities in a transformatory project in which class and class struggle may be one possibility or mere contingency.

In intellectual history, the important epistemological breaks have not occurred when new solutions have been given to old problems, but when a radical change in the

"radical" or "conservative" and others have a place. But before we stick on the labels why not open the parcels and check what sort of commodities are inside?

67. Laclau & Mouffe, *Hegemony...*, op cit, p. 3.

68. Laclau & Mouffe, *Hegemony...*, op cit, p. 5.

ground of the debate strips the old problems of their sense. This is what seems central to me today if one wishes to push forward the political debate of the left: it is necessary to construct a new language—and a new language means, as you know, new objects, new problems, new values, and the possibility of discursively constructing new antagonisms and forms of struggle.[69]

To put it differently, the Left to survive must be able to mobilize new constituencies. Radical women, racial and ethnic minorities, ecological, gay and anti-institutional movements are new political subjects which neither derive necessarily from the logic of class interests nor follow the logic of class struggle. They are however part of a wider project of radical democracy. The discourses of the Left can no longer be restricted to the working community. The Left also needs to move beyond a defensive intellectual culture of criticism, towards a creative, risk-taking intellectual culture, which is dynamic, open and energized. The risks are obviously greater, as to bring in new identities entails many struggles, and perhaps a few celebrations, with the possibility of antagonism, contradiction and complexity.[70] The fact is that the transformatory process in the New South Africa involves the questioning and re-articulation of the political identity of all the actors involved and no identity is left pure and intact.

Conclusion

All identities are subject to change. Identities are shaky, unstable and open to articulation and re-articulation in a context of constant struggle where there is a weakening of frontiers between discourses and a proliferation of new signifiers. This has been the case of the metamorphoses undergone by the liberal school since the 1970s, which led to the emergence of a radical neo-Marxist school. The liberal discourse held the view that apartheid must be explained in terms of an irrational racial logic. This irrational logic, it was argued, would fall apart as a result of progressive modernization of the economy. As Norval puts it, whites would choose to be rich and mixed

69. Laclau, New Reflections..., op cit, p. 162.
70. Similar argument is articulated by Rosalind Brunt in "The politics of identity," in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds), New Times—The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1989), p. 158.

rather than poor and separate.[71] However, the inability of the liberal school to deliver a satisfactory solution to the increasing contradictions of apartheid and the crisis faced by South Africa since the 1970s and increasing oppositional struggles—the South African reduction union movements, the 1976 uprising, the explosion of youth and student movements—resulted in a deep crisis of identity within liberal forces, which culminated in the emergence of revisionism. Revisionist theorists replaced the racial logic with class logic, which also led to another form of reductionism, class reductionism. The chapter has shown that the complexity of South African society, particularly the question of identity, cannot adequately be understood in terms of class reductionism as has been suggested by neo-Marxist analyses. There are important factors which require a review of these analyses: (1) the emergence of new subjects, the location of which is not within the boundaries of class—radical women, racial and ethnic minorities, ecological, gay and anti-institutional movements; and (2) the nature of struggles carried out by these subjects, which do not respond to the logic of class struggle. The chapter suggests that for the Left to survive it must be able to mobilize these new subjects and articulate their demands, a task that cannot be undertaken within narrow Marxism.

71. Norval, "Letter to Ernesto," op cit, p. 138.

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1. Ernesto Laclau, N
York: Verso, 1990), p. 1

the system of differences and the symbolic universe of apartheid was increasingly disrupted by the imagery of the oppositional movements as these reconstituted the negated African identity.

The major political and ideological forces which played a central role in the construction of African identities involved: (1) Christian liberal reformism and moderation, 1884–1943; (2) pragmatic nationalism and Africanism 1943–1976; and (3) critical nationalism and Africanism, 1976–1990.[2] Christian liberal reformism and moderation were dominated by discourses of Christianity, Christian morality and liberal ideals as formulated by the missionaries and contemporary white liberals. It was expressed amongst Africans through elitist politics, relative tolerance of the existing political system—though critical of some of its aspects—and liberal moderation later combined with strong scepticism towards radical perspectives on issues concerning South Africa, particularly Marxism and socialist ideologies. Marxism was rejected and, very often, portrayed as "atheist" or a "foreign ideology." This is partly due to the pragmatism and dogmatism that dominated Marxist analyses of South African society and popular resistance at the beginning of the century, originating almost exclusively within the white ranks of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).[3] Christian liberalism promised the black elite a common platform with white liberals on grounds of education. For white liberals and moderate African intellectuals the dividing lines between white and African identities became momentarily blurred as they strove to discover a common ground and common interests within the colonial system. Through co-operation and joint efforts, the latter hoped to be incorporated into the dominant bloc and have access to colonial privileges by virtue of their educational status. In education, the black elite seemed attracted by the concept of "adapted education" as the most suitable form of education for the African masses. Accordingly, education for the African masses had to

2. This periodization is not informed by particular events in South African history but by major changes in South African political economy and dominant patterns of African discourses which accompanied them.

3. The Communist Party regarded South Africa as a capitalist country comparable to Western Europe or North America. They considered class analysis as providing a key theoretical basis for African liberation and regarded nationalism as reactionary. This position changed only in the 1930s when the Executive Committee of the Communist International insisted that the CPSA should promote the idea of an independent Black Republic as a step towards a socialist South Africa.

be considered as much as possible from the point of view of the African's "own possibilities, needs and aspirations."[4] To put it differently, African education was seen as having to conform to the social and economic roles which African people were expected to perform within the logic of difference which separated (uneducated) Africans from Europeans.

The 1943–1976 period brought about the celebration of an almost mystical Africanism and nationalism that, as had happened in the previous period, were pragmatically incorporated into Marxist ideas of "negritude" that had dominated earlier criticism. The emerging images and notions were uncritically incorporated into the struggle, without the necessary criticism. Christian liberalism and reformism came under fire. The anti-liberal African intelligentsia led to the rejection of the elite's accommodationist strategy. Bantu Education and the concept of equal-but-separate education were severely criticised. Marxists depicted their theories with a much higher sense of flexibility and self-criticism than their predecessors had taken in their approach to African politics, which does not invalidate the criticisms made in the previous chapter. African identities reflected by and large the emerging nationalist and emancipatory discourses in the continent. In practice, African activities assumed the form of a search for a lost identity.

Benefiting from the contradictions that arose out of the struggles of the 1950s and the unprecedented crisis of the 1970s, the 1976–1990 period showed an increasing theoretical and ideological refinement. Paradoxically, the political vacuum created by the banning of political leaders of all persuasions in the 1960s had the effect of widening participation in the debates by the different sections of the middle class, including those affiliated to no political organisation or without any established political identity. This democratisation of thought played a crucial role in creating a spirit of self-criticism within and outside the resistance and liberation movements. It made possible the achievement of higher levels of political militancy and ideological and theoretical sophistication among black intellectuals. Radical and Marxist ideas were broadened and creatively adjusted to

4. See Udo Dube, "The concept of adaptation in British colonial Africa," Compara-

the specific circumstances of the existing social and political movements, namely the Black Consciousness, Africanist and Charterist traditions.[5] Critical thinking and theoretical exercises were finally institutionalised in African politics and education. They became important tools in the pursuit of national undertakings amongst black intellectuals and the masses.

Moderation and Liberal Reformism, 1886–1943/8: Early African "Modernisers"

A common feature amongst African proto-nationalists is that they were well-educated and elitist and could take advantage of the existing circumstances to pursue their "petty bourgeois" politics. Generally they were doctors, lawyers, priests and pastors, and made use of the media more extensively than the later nationalists, who adopted more mass orientated politics. They were however respected by the masses because they spoke good English, French or Portuguese. They were articulate and very often enjoyed a privileged economic status. Politically, what distinguished these early "modernisers"[6] from the later activists is that they tended to operate within the existing oppressive system and not to challenge it. They knew that the chances of rejecting the system successfully were limited or hopeless. Thus, they favoured the accommodationist policy advocated by the liberals as realistic and more in line with their middle class identity, which included access to individual material and social privileges. Essentially, they claimed rights and equality with white settlers on the grounds of their privileged condition within the colonial system as an educated elite. In this respect, the early African middle class in South Africa was not an exception. Though more militant than its counterpart in most African countries, the early African elite in South Africa displayed a similar political style: reformism and Christian liberalism.

The ideas propagated by white liberals had considerable influence among educated middle-class Africans.[7] From 1886 to around 1950, mainstream African thought remained essentially reformist and mod-

5. See the section on the Freedom Charter.
6. The term refers to the role they were expected to play within their communities as promoters and transmitters of Western culture.
7. See Chapter Eight.

erate; it embraced a liberalism that sought equality of opportunity within the existing social, political and economic framework. This was despite the fact that sections of the African intelligentsia had been exposed to Marxist ideas since the early 1920s. Tshangana Gumede,[8] Bransby Ndobe and Elliot Tonjeni, Moses Kotane[9] and James La Guma,[10] in the 1930s and the 1940s, emerged as the most knowledgeable blacks who assimilated Marxist ideas and made some impact on African thought. The overwhelming majority of African leaders however continued to be indifferent or even hostile to radicalism and Marxism[11], which was promoted mainly by white intellectuals, particularly those affiliated to the CPSA.

Four main reasons seem to have determined this apathy to Marxism amongst the African educated elite: (1) the impact of the Cape liberal tradition; (2) the influence of Christianity; (3) the activities of white liberals during the first half of the present century; and (4) most importantly, the mechanistic and dogmatic form of early Marxist thought in South Africa. From the early 1880s, Africans in the Cape

8. J.T. Gumede was a founding member of the ANC, who took part in the drafting of the 1919 constitution of Congress. He participated in the 1920 African Mine Workers strike as an organiser and in 1927 travelled to Brussels to attend the first International Conference of the League Against Imperialism. In June 1927, he became President-General of the ANC, taking over from Reverend Z. Mahabane, and later that year he attended the Moscow celebrations of the Russian revolution. He returned to South Africa in 1928 to intensify the struggle against imperialism, which culminated in a serious ideological and class conflict and repudiation of the ANC association with the CPSA. He was made President-General of the CPSA's League of African Rights in his private capacity while President-General of the ANC. Gumede lost the presidential election in 1930 to Dr Pixley ka I. Seme.

9. Moses Kotane joined the ANC in 1928 and the CPSA in 1929. In 1930, he attended the Lenin School in Moscow. In 1939, he was elected General Secretary of the Party, a position he held for many years. In 1946, he was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC.

10. James LaGuma was a trade unionist who joined the CPSA in 1925 and promoted the idea of an independent Black South African Republic as a stage toward workers' and peasants' rule, an idea condoned by the Communist International.

11. B. Ndobe and E. Tonjeni were members of the CPSA from the early 1920s until about 1929. Around the same time they were forced to leave the ANC by the conservative leader of the Cape branch, James M. Thaele, self-named "Professor." In November 1930, they formed a new organisation called the Independent African National Congress, which urged support of African trade unions and promoted the idea of a Black Republic.

Colony were placed on the common voters roll on the basis of a qualified and non-racial franchise.[12] This offered some hope to those educated and successful Africans who believed that British liberal principles of equality before the law, civil rights, freedom of the press and an independent judiciary would be extended to the provinces of Natal and the Transvaal. These hopes were heightened after the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 with the increasing influence of a human rights discourse. When South African capitalism was consolidated, Cape liberalism formed a basis for liberal criticism of the policy of racial segregation. As pointed out in Chapter Seven, liberals demanded the recognition of individuals based on "civilization" rather than race and expressed a desire to transcend repressive policies that allowed no expression of African grievances. Given the existing political and economic constraints, liberalism appeared to be the most realistic and attractive political strategy for the black intelligentsia.

Liberal perceptions were also strengthened by missionaries and Christian educators, who preached that all human beings were born equal, and propagated universal concepts of peace, love, justice, equality and the common brotherhood of all, as well as obedience to authority, tolerance, patience and sacrifice for those who suffered injustice and oppression. It is against this background, Ranuga argues, that it was ideologically very difficult for the African elite to accept Marxist ideas.[13] Marxism claimed a revolutionary strategy and ideal not popular within the ANC. The leaders of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC—later the African National Congress), created in 1912, while taking the Christian liberal principles as part of their tradition and way of life, denounced Marxism as "foreign" and "atheistic."[14] This approach prevailed within the ANC, which adopted peaceful means and constitutional policy as its main strategy to redress economic imbalances and achieve political reform. Its 1919 constitution explicitly stated that resolutions, protests, constitutional and peaceful propaganda, deputations, petitions and other forms of representations and passive action including the investigation of

12. See Chapter Seven.

13. Thomas K. Ranuga, "Marxism and Black Nationalism in South Africa (Azania): a comparative and critical analysis of the ideological conflict and consensus between Marxism and Nationalism in the ANC, the PAC and the BCM, 1920–1980," Ph.D. thesis, Brandeis University, 1982, pp. 10–12.

14. Ibid.

grievances, education, lectures and distribution of literature would be the means employed for the achievement of its goals.[15]

Of no less importance was the dogmatism which overshadowed initial attempts to apply Marxism to the struggle in South Africa. Exposed to the version of Marxism articulated by the Third International, early Marxists tended to play down the racial aspects of the South African society and its struggles. They focused on the class nature of the conflict. They saw national liberation as a class struggle, with the aim of establishing a non-racial class identity, which would link the working class across race boundaries in a common struggle against capitalism. They regarded nationalism as a reactionary ideology with a minimal role to play in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class irrespective of race. The concept of *class* was generally understood, within the framework of Marxist-Leninist principles, as a colour-blind category.[16] Marxists shared the principles of proletarian internationalism under the banner "Workers of the World Unite." This lacked appeal for black nationalists, who saw race and racial oppression as a fundamental aspect of their social experience and, as such, part of the conflict. Black Marxists such as Gumede, LaGuma and Kotane tried to overcome the problem by adding a nationalist dimension to mainstream Marxism-Leninism. For example, LaGuma suggested that before a peasants' and workers' republic could emerge a national "Black Republic" should be established.[17]

LaGuma was a trade unionist who joined the CPSA in 1925 and the ANC in 1927 as secretary of the Cape branch. He visited Moscow as a CPSA delegate in 1927, when the Comintern was trying to come to grips with the "colonial question." From the discussions he had with the Comintern, a resolution was drafted on the nature of the struggle in South Africa. It was later adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International after consulta-

15. Constitution of the South African Native National Congress, September 1919, quoted in Thomas Karis & Gwendolen M. Carter (eds), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882–1964* (Stanford: Hoover Institute Press, 1972), Vol.1, p. 77.

16. See the Communist International, "The South African Question" (Resolution of the 6CCI), 15 December 1928.

17. See Edward Roux, *S.P. Bunting: A Political Biography* (Johannesburg: Published by the author, 1944), p. 89.

tion with the CPSA. The resolution urged the constitution of "an independent Native Republic, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government," i.e. a stage towards the achievement of socialism.[18] The Central Executive of the CPSA opposed the resolution on the grounds that its strategy would exclude all whites and the land would entirely belong to the Africans. In this regard, Kotane argued that although lessons could be drawn from Europe, they should however not lose sight of the fact that Europe differed historically, politically and economically from South Africa.[19]

In addition, the traditionally hostile attitude of white workers to black labour made it difficult for the left to explicate the applicability in real labour relations of the principle of working-class solidarity propagated by Marxist ideology. This led the main white organisations to concentrate their efforts on white workers while neglecting the potential role of the black working class in the struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination. The South African Labour Party (SALP), which emerged as a white organisation, ruled out any non-racial approach to working-class struggles. Progressive white trade unions promoted socialist ideology almost exclusively amongst white workers. The CPSA, which was formed in 1921 in Cape Town, had no significant black membership.[20] Only the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), a militant trade union founded in January 1919 in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie from Malawi, developed a favourable climate for the proliferation of socialist ideas amongst African workers. Its constitution held out as an ultimate goal a colour-blind socialist society. However, no healthy relationship existed between the ICU and the CPSA such as existed between the ANC and the CPSA. These factors had some bearing on the tradition of moderation and liberal reformism shown by the early African modernisers.

18. Ibid. See also Edward Roux, Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

19. M.M. Kotane, "Letter to the Central Committee" in A. Lerumo (pseud. of Michael Harmel), Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa 1921–1971 (London: Inkululeko Publications, 1971), p. 133.

20. The CPSA was formed in 1921 on the basis of the 21 points of the Communist International in a unity conference involving the Social Democratic Federation, the Durban Marxist Club, the Cape Communist Party and the Jewish Socialist Society.

The Role of the Press

With few exceptions, African intellectuals expressed their opinions through the press.[21] Journalism was the first vehicle of communication that Black South Africans made use of to express their opinions in their encounter with the missionaries and colonial authorities.[22] African views appeared in several periodicals and newspapers such as the Christian Express (later called South African Outlook) which acted as the mediator between the overbearing section of colonial opinion, on the one hand, and the African elite, on the other. The English newspapers The Star, Cape Mercury, Cape Times, Eastern Province Herald, Daily Dispatch and Natal Advertiser provided channels of communication between the liberal viewpoint and the African educated elite. More important than these were the African newspapers such as Imvo Zabantsundu (Native Opinion) (1884–1908), the first bilingual weekly and the second oldest newspaper published in any of the indigenous South African languages. It represented perhaps the most moderate and even conservative section of the African elite, reflecting to a large extent the political ambiguity of its editor John Tengo Jabavu, whose politics were a symbiosis of opposition and collaboration. It provided an important forum for the debate and expression of African opinion on education policy. When Jabavu and his close friends created the first South African Native College at Fort Hare (initially Inter-State Native College) in 1916, the newspaper came to be looked upon as the mouthpiece of the College and the College itself as I Koliji ka Jabavu or Sekolo sa Jabavu (Jabavu's College), Jabavu was joined by John Knox Bokwe, a hymn writer, and by Walter.B. Rubusana. Besides several poems and articles, Rubusana wrote a History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint.[23]

The moderation of Jabavu, which made him "the best Bantu patriot" according to the Christian Express, placed Imvo Zabantsundu in a heated war with the more radical Koranta ea Becoana (The

21. For a detailed review see T.J. Couzens, "The black press and black literature in South Africa 1900–1950," English Studies in Africa, 19, 2, 1976, pp. 93–99.

22. John Knox Nxsikana (1855–1922) and Tiyo Soga (c. 1829–1871) used Xhosa journalism to make a case against heathenism.

23. E. Mphahlele, "Landmarks of literary history in South Africa—A black perspective," in Chapman et al., (eds.), Perspectives on South African English Literature, (Johannesburg: Ad Donker, 1992), p. 43.

Bachuana Gazette), and in particular *Tsala ea Becoana* (Friend of the Batswana), later renamed *Tsala ea Batho* (Friend of the People) edited by Sol Plaatje and Silas Molema, outstanding African writers.[24] Of particular importance was *Abantu-Batho*, the official organ of the ANC until the early 1930s. Other important African papers were A.K. Soga's *Izwi la Bantu* (The Voice of the People) in East London, written in English and Xhosa and published from November 1897; the *South African Spectator*, edited by F.Z.S. Peregrino, a West African journalist residing in South Africa; *Umteteli wa Bantu*, funded by the Chamber of Mines and run by the Native Recruiting Corporation, a paper with a wide readership and influence among educated Africans; *Ilanga lase Natal* (The Natal Sun), founded by the Rev. John L. Dube in 1903, and published in Ohlange, Natal; and the Johannesburg newspaper, *The Bantu World*, created in 1931 to enable white businessmen to reach the growing African market. The conflicting interests represented in these newspapers frustrated the unifying attempts made by Sol Plaatje and F.Z.S. Peregrino to create a South African Native Press Association.[25] The differences and antagonisms which existed between these periodicals illustrate a very important feature in identity construction. Identities necessarily precede the development of strategies or form the basis for the development of strategies. It is the strategies developed by particular social agents through several means including newspapers, which create "collective wills" and shape social identities. The newspapers mentioned above reflect the multiplicity of identities and discursive strands among the black elite, which however shared a great deal of liberal-reformism and commitment to building a national identity. Factors which shaped African discourses at the time are varied. Mphahlele gives us the following picture:

There were other events that conditioned and redefined the culture of the African people in the nineteenth and early twentieth centures and to which the writers responded. They were right in the concourse of violent cross-currents of history: frontier wars; vehement missionary evangelism and the establishment of church schools, teacher-training

24. See for example, Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982), pp. 193–210. (First published by P.S. King and Son, London, 1916.)
25. The South African Native Press Association, founded in 1904, had a very short existence.

institutions and presses; the upsurge of journalistic writing, the entrenchment of the white man's political supremacy, and apparent negation of the Christian faith as the new converts understood it; the conflict between Christian and traditional values at a time when the missionary had established in the minds of the convert the idea that to be Christian was to be civilised and vice-versa; the dramatisation of self by the newly-converted Christians; the formation of Union; the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the Natives Land Act of 1913; the founding of Fort Hare College in 1916 and the South African Native Congress in 1912, following closely upon, and responding to, the end of the Boer War and the formation of Union. There was also the impact of John Bunyan *Pilgrim's Progress* and an allegory, for the writer, of the African travails and so on. The visits of men like J.D.K. Aggrey from the Gold Coast (1921) and the contact between African and Afro-American students in the United States also left their imprint on the intelligentsia throughout South Africa.[26]

In 1909 several African leaders initiated a process of political mobilization culminating in the formation of the South African Native Congress on 12 January 1912, which challenged the Union of South Africa and excluded black people from the franchise.[27] Through regional and national conventions, social and religious organizations[28] and the African press, developed co-operation, national solidarity and African unity to establish a solid nationalist movement. The African press, in particular, channelled the potential of the missionary-educated elite to educate and represent African opinion and thus enlighten the emerging nationalist consciousness. In the words of Daniel Letanka, Saul Msane and L.T. Mvabaza, editors of the Xhosa/English *Umlomo*, the African press succeeded in unifying all the African tribes into one people and improving the education of African children. When the SANNC was established in Bloemfontein in 1912, Pixley Seme made

26. Mphahlele, op cit, p. 43.
27. See A. Odendaal, *Black Politics in South Africa to 1912* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984), pp. 233–235.
28. For example the Becoana Mutual Improvement Society (BMIS), and the African Brotherhood and Commercial Co-operation Society (ABCCS).

it clear that the conference "was called so that we can together devise the means and ways of forming a national union for the purpose of creating a national unity and defending our rights and privileges."[29] He argued that the formation of the Congress represented an important step for solving the so-called "native problem," and for uniting people who had until then been separated by tribal jealousies.

In education, the African liberal-reformist tradition carried different nuances according to changing social, economic and political circumstances. From the late 19th century to the early 1950s, one can identify three main features that dominated the educational ideas and practices of the African intelligentsia: (1) the struggle for access to educational opportunities; (2) the struggle for social, political and economic accommodation; and (3) the struggle for political legitimacy. In all cases, moderation and reformism prevailed. The African intellectuals, particularly those involved in education, showed the heavy influence of white liberals to whom they owed their academic education. This can be illustrated by examining the biographies of three prominent African educators and political activists, namely John Tengo Jabavu, Davidson Dengo Jayabu and John L Dube. This will highlight important features concerning the identity of the African elite of the 1920s and 1930s. Where did they come from? What did they think about themselves and others? How did they translate their ideas into practice? What were their hopes and frustrations?

J.T. Jabavu (1859–1921) appeared to be concerned with setting conditions for the training of an African elite or leadership by widening opportunities for higher education. His efforts and campaigns culminated in the opening of the South African Native College, the first institution providing higher education to Southern African blacks. His son, Davidson Jabavu, who lived when an identifiable African elite already existed, turned his attention to the social condition of this elite and its role in the existing political dispensation, without however blinding himself to major educational issues affecting African people. These efforts were complemented by John Dube (1871–1946), who turned his attention to the role the educated elite could play vis-a-vis the wider African masses, thus addressing the issue of accountability. He created the first industrial training institution for Africans at Inanda, based on the American model of Tuskegee.

29. R.V. Selope Thema, "How Congress began," *Drum*, August 1953, p. 41.

J.T. Jabavu was a pioneer and a key figure in the shaping of African educational thought in South Africa.[30] He was one of the first African matriculants, who could not go further because the existing system made no such provision for black South Africans.[31] Many African matriculants had to travel to the USA or Britain to seek higher education. According to Davidson Jabavu, it was once estimated by the Cape Department of Education that between ninety and a hundred young black matriculants had gone to America from the Cape Colony alone for education during the period 1898-1908.

An important factor gave inspiration to Jabavu's thought: the refusal of Dale College, a school for white children at King Williamstown, to accept his son Davidson (then studying at Lovedale) after the discontinuation of the Matriculation class at Lovedale.[32] It appeared to J.T. Jabavu that what was required was an institution of higher education to cater for black matriculants. Taking a moderate stand, J.T. Jabavu made the project popular within colonial officialdom. The idea was supported by the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903, which recommended the establishment of a Central Native College to afford opportunities of higher education for African teachers.

30. Literature produced by Tengo Jabavu includes speeches scattered in different publications, and articles and editorials published in *Imvo Zabantsundu*. Files of this paper were destroyed in an unfortunate accident. Several extracts of his writings appeared in the *Christian Express* and the *Cape Argus*, to which he became a regular correspondent before creating his own newspaper.

31. John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921) was the pioneer of the African press, an impressive editor and a teacher. He was born on 11 January 1859 and concluded his elementary schooling at the Wesleyan Methodist Mission School of Healdtown. In 1875, he gained the Government Teachers' Certificate of Competency and Honours and became a teacher at Somerset Fast in 1887. The rest of his life involved: correspondent to the *Cape Argus* (1877–1881); editor of *Isigidimi Sama-xosa* and teacher at Lovedale (1881–1883); founder of an evening school at King Williamstown; member of the Native Educational Association (1877–1895); editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884–1914); provided evidence before the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903–1905); member of a deputation to London to fight the colour bar clause in the Union Constitution (1909); elected to attend the Universal Races Congress in London (1911); founder of the South African Native College, Fort Hare (February 1916); one of four Africans in the Native Education Commission of 1919; passed away on 10 September 1921.

32. These reactions appeared in different articles published in the *Cape Mercury*, *Uitenhage Times, Daily Despatch, Cape Argus*, and *Cape Times*, Ibid., pp. 71–75.

J.T. Jabavu remained essentially moderate and highly influenced by white liberal views. His son Davidson described his political life as alternating between the offensive and the defensive. While J.T. Jabavu often criticized the policies of the conservative Cape Department of Education, which opposed the project of a Native College, he did not entertain the opposition of those on the left like Sol Plaatje who saw him as a collaborator: "It is no secret that influences are at work among the Natives which seek to alienate them from their European friends and implant in their minds a distrust of all Government proposals whether framed for their benefit or not."[33] More radicalised African leaders condemned J.T. Jabavu's "pragmatic collaboration." For them the state had the responsibility to provide compulsory state-subsidised education.[34] He was left aside when progressive African leaders, among them J.L. Dube and Sol Plaatje, in response to Pixley ka I. Seme's call, formed the SANNC.

However, J.T. Jabavu remained one of the most prominent educationists of his time. Fuelling his desire for higher education was an outstanding philosophical insight. While the dominant conception among the authorities was that education should commence at the bottom, with a concentration on primary education based on manual labour, and gradually work upwards, Jabavu contended that education should work from the top downwards. There must, he argued, be an educated elite with higher education to teach and uplift the masses, "for the light comes from above." The solution to the problem of African education consisted in providing the masses with basic education, while concentrating on the few who were to be the leaders and uplifters of the rest.[35] Explaining the rationale behind the project of a Native College he said: "it is required to fully qualify the handful who are to labour among the mass of their people as uplifters—missionaries, teachers, and leaders along right lines."[36] For him, the tradition of "half-education" or "little education" would lead to a situation where the masses would have to be led by "blind leaders, or, worse still, by leaders with mental eyes so insufficiently opened as only to be able to see 'men like trees', to the danger of the country both for white and black."[37] Black upliftment would come about

33. Ibid, p. 82.
34. Karis & Carter, *From Protest to Challenge….,* op cit, p. 9.
35. Ibid, p. 88.
36. Karis & Carter, op cit, p. 93.
37. Ibid, pp. 93–94.

through a sophisticated education and the empowerment of a group of black "modernisers." This elitist conception of education was in line with the ideas propagated by white liberals at the time. James Henderson, an influential liberal missionary, also argued strongly that education should proceed "from above downwards" since "a few really well educated Natives have more influence upon this people than hundreds of semi-educated ones."[38]

When J.T. Jabavu came to the end of his career in 1921, his son D.D. Jabavu had already completed his degree at London University, in October 1912, and had been appointed the first lecturer at the South African Native College in March 1915.[39] D.D. Jabavu inherited the experience of early 20th century African politics led by his father and such outstanding personalities as Sol Plaatje and Walter B. Rubusana. However, his political and educational thought as well as that of John Dube must be understood with reference to the particular historical circumstances of their time. They were brought up when the proliferation of institutions of training and the increasing process of social stratification culminated in the emergence of an identifiable black educated elite during the first decades of the present century. This urged them to turn their attention to the social and political condition of this elite, without, however, blinding themselves to

38. *The Christian Express,* 1 November 1917; see also Paul Rich, "The appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the fortunes of South African liberalism, 1906–1930," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 20(2), 1987, pp. 271–292.

39. D.D. Jabavu concluded his elementary studies at Lovedale Missionary Institution. Having been denied admission to Dale College, King Williamstown, for being a black child, he was sent to a boarding school at Colwyn Bay, North Wales, in April 1903, where he remained until he entered London University in 1906. He completed his degree in October 1912. He undertook supplementary studies at Birmingham University in 1912–1914. During these two years, he visited Booker T. Washington's Industrial and Agricultural School for Black Americans at Tuskegee, Alabama, USA. He returned to South Africa in October 1914 to be appointed, in March 1915, the first lecturer in the newly-created South African Native College, where he taught African languages and later Bantu Studies. During his professional career, Jabavu occupied important positions in African organisations, namely: President, Cape Native Voters' Convention; President, South African Teachers' Federation; Organizer, Ciskei & Transkei Native Chiefs' Convention; Chairman, Non-European Conference; Founder, South African Native Farmers' Congress.

the major educational issues affecting the mass of African people.[40] This social category was initially seen by both the ruling class and the liberal establishment as a potential political threat, particularly after the foundation of the SANNC in 1912. By the late 1930s, conservative circles saw total segregation as providing a framework for solving these problems while some liberals favoured partial segregation and the alleviation of social ills in the urban areas with the help of rural reserves. Both regarded "adapted education" as an adequate solution for the integration of the African working class into new forms of social and economic life. Liberals also showed some sympathy for the concept of *equal- but-separate education*.[41]

Through his paper *Umteteli wa Bantu*, D.D. Jabavu dealt with different matters relating to the so-called "native question": from education for Africans, African unrest and labour reserves to the "native bills," particularly the question of racial segregation and the problems it created for the accommodation of the African elite.[42] The "native question," he argued, was "a misnomer for what would be better understood if we renamed it 'Inter-racial Relationship',[43] for a 'native' is not a question, a question is the way whites deal with the 'native'." How was this problem to be resolved? D.D. Jabavu believed that existing liberal organisations including the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, universities, and student and welfare organisations formed effective instruments to minimize racial tensions and pave the path to racial harmony between whites and blacks. Hoping that the educated elite would eventually be exempt from the practice

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40. For further details see M. Cross, "A historical review of education in South Africa: towards an assessment," *Comparative Education*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1986.

41. See for example E.H. Brookes, *Native Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930).

42. See his writings and compilations, namely: D.D. Jabavu, *The Black Problem, Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems* (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1920); D.D. Jabavu, *The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers* (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1928); D.D. Jabavu and Others, *Criticisms of the Native Bills* (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1935); D.D. Jabavu, *The Native Teacher out of School*, paper read at the Natal Teachers' Conference and published for circulation by the Natal Education Department (Natal: Education Department, 1918); D.D. Jabavu, "*Native disabilities*" in South Africa (Fort Hare: Lovedale Press, 1932); and D.D. Jabavu and others, *Native views on the Native Bills* (Fort Hare: Lovedale Institution Press, 1935).

43. Ibid, p. 26.

of segregation, he viewed education as the key to attaining racial harmony. African people, he suggested, must replace untrained leaders with a number of intellectual spokesmen of the type of Booker T. Washington and J.E.K. Aggrey.[44] He regretted the fact that the mismanagement of "race relations" had led to a situation where "the best educated Bantu never come into touch with the best educated Europeans until they have adopted toward each other an attitude based on theoretical and preconceived notions.[45] Karis and Carter characterize his position as reflecting "the orientation of the educated African elite, who suffered most directly from the failure of the system to fulfil the liberal promise of the 19th century nonracial franchise in the Cape."[46]

Similar views were also expressed by one of the most influential members of the SANNC (Cape Province Branch), the Reverend Zaccheus Mahabane.[47] In his presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress in 1920, Mahabane stated that the removal of the "Colour Bar" was the key to what was commonly seen as the "Native Question."[48] In 1922 he pointed out that the Joint Councils had a "body of white men... who have taken practical steps in the right direction of removing this artificial colour bar."[49] Among many of the elite at that time, the Joint Councils were highly appreciated and publicly acknowledged as an adequate method for minimising racial friction and promoting racial justice.

The concept of "adapted education" had great appeal in Jabavu's thought. He endorsed the proposals of the report of the Native Edu-

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44. Booker T. Washington's ideas were translated into programmes of industrial training for black Americans at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, USA. See footnote 64 in Chapter Seven.

45. Ibid, pp. 85–86.

46. Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. I, p. 66.

47. Rev. Richard Zaccheus Mahabane was a Methodist minister who joined the Cape Province branch of the SANNC in 1917. In 1919, he was elected President of the Cape branch of the SANNC and twice became President-General of the ANC, in 1924 and 1937. He was a moderate leader who believed that Christian principles could be effectively invoked in efforts to bring about meaningful change in South Africa.

48. Rev. Zaccheus Mahabane, "The colour bar," presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress, Queenstown, May 1920.

49. Rev. Z. Mahabane, "The evil nature of the colour bar," presidential address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province Native Congress, 1922.

cation Commission of 1919, which emphasised the need for adjusting African education to the culture of the "Bantu."[50] He believed that the cure for the successive failures of peasant agriculture lay "firstly, in the educational training of headmen and chiefs who will encourage the pursuits of agriculture; secondly, in the multiplication of Native farm demonstrators, on the American style, to teach dry farming methods, and, thirdly, in the establishment of Agricultural Schools for Natives."[51] These convictions were consolidated after his visit to America in 1913, where, under the request of the South African Minister of Native Affairs, he compiled a detailed report on Booker T. Washington's ideas and discussed their applicability to South Africa. Only the outbreak of the World War prevented the Secretary of Native Affairs, Mr. Edward Dower, from putting it into a Blue Book form.[52]

After the passage of the Hertzog segregationist legislation in 1936, D.D. Jabavu and Pixley ka I. Seme, President of the ANC, called a meeting of Africans from all shades of the political spectrum to form a new national umbrella organisation, with the original purpose of uniting opposition to the legislation. They formed the All African Convention (AAC). Leaders of the ANC, members of the Communist Party, members of the declining ICU, tribal chiefs and professional and church dignitaries took part in the gathering. The delegates drafted important resolutions on African grievances. The resolutions, particularly those concerning education, to a large extent reflected DD Jabavu's liberalism. For example, the AAC's policy statement only stressed the "axiomatic fact" that the education of the Africans was essential to their efficiency in employment and their progress in agriculture. It demanded better financing of African education and equal pay for African and European teachers.[53] This differed from the views expressed by those who were under the leadership of the ANC. A deputation from the ANC to the Minister of Native Affairs in May

50. D.D. Jabavu, "Native Unrest," paper read before the Natal Missionary Conference, July 1920, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol.1, p.124.

51. D.D. Jabavu, "The causes of our discontent," in Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot (eds), *Outlook on a Century: South Africa, 1870-1970* (Lovedale: SPRO-CAS & Lovedale Press, 1973), p. 243.

52. See D.D. Jabavu, "Booker T. Washington, his methods applied to South Africa," *The Black Problem...* op cit, pp. 25-67.

53. "Policy of the AAC," statement issued by the Executive Committee of the AAC, December 1937, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p. 62.

1939 challenged the segregated nature of African education. The Reverend A. M'timkulu, who presented the resolution on education, said: "We want our education to be on the same basis and on the same lines as the education of other peoples, under the direction of a specialist body with the right attitude."[54] Another delegate, J.M. Lekheto, stressed that "Education is a universal thing and should not be segregated."[55] They were accused by the Minister of "arguing along theoretical lines" without tackling the problem "in the most practical way," i.e. as a Native problem quite distinct from that of the Europeans.[56] The educational principles spelt out by the ANC's deputation were systematically elaborated in the Bill of Rights formulated by the ANC in 1943 as a response to the signing of the Atlantic Charter between the USA and Great Britain. Once again the idea of a special type of education for Africans came under fire and free compulsory primary education was demanded.[57]

What D.D. Jabavu achieved in theory had materialized in the practice of Rev. J.L. Dube, who after study-visits to the USA established the Zulu Christian Industrial School in 1899 in Ohlange, Natal. This was the first industrial school of American type founded by a professionally trained African educator.[58] Like D.D. Jabavu, Dube had experienced a privileged education and was conscious of his status as

54. "Report of a Deputation from the ANC and Congress of Urban Advisory Boards to the Minister of Native Affairs, May 15-17, 1939," in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p.139.

55. Ibid, p. 140. See also Rev. J. Aa Calata, "presidential address," Cape African Congress, June 25-27, 1939, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II,

56. Ibid, p. 145.

57. "Bill of Rights," in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p. 148.

58. Born in Natal in 1871, son of the Reverend James Dube, one of the first ordained pastors of the American Zulu mission, John L. Dube was educated at Inanda and Amanzimtoti Theological School (later Adams College). In 1887, he attended Oberlin College at Rochester, New York, for five years. Between 1896 and 1899, he returned to the USA for training in industrial education and to raise funds for a Zulu industrial school based on the Tuskegee Institute established by Booker T. Washington in Alabama. His other activities included: founder of Inanda Industrial School (1901), the first African-founded educational institution; founder of the Zulu-English weekly newspaper *Ilanga Lase Natal*; present at the Conference of African opponents to the Act of Union in 1909; first President of the South African Native National Congress (African National Congress) until his death in 1946.

an educated African. He knew that he possessed a solid knowledge and skills that the authorities and the white community in general should have made use of: "I think the white race has a tremendous responsibility to lead us on the right lines. But that leadership must come from the experience of give and take. We have a lot to learn from the white man and he has a lot to learn from us."[59] In this sense, Tabata is right when he says that the "earliest African modernisers, men such as John Dube, Pixley ka Izaka Seme, Tengo Jabavu, Simon Peter Sihlali and Walter Bencon Rubusana, had dreamed of an African Renaissance."[60] They placed great stress on the assimilation and adaptation of European culture by Africans through formal schooling as it had been run by the missionaries since the 19th century.[61] However, Dube's involvement in the ANC's politics made him perhaps the most radical of the three educationists examined here. From its inception the ANC showed concern for the need for a free, compulsory and public system of education for the whole Union of South Africa.[62] Generally, African educational thought of the 1920s and 1930s reflected the prevailing elitism and petty bourgeois politics. In many cases, wittingly or unwittingly, African educationists mediated the dominant colonial conceptions, particularly those propagated by the liberal establishment. This was recognised by Dr. A.B. Xuma, President of the ANC, in his presidential address in 1941:

Today you and I, the better trained we are, seem more disposed to work under orders and direction of others against and away from African organisations. Someone said to me one day, with some degree of truth, "We uneducated Africans feel that the educated African is lost to us. He is afraid to identify himself with his own people. We do not know whether the education you get puts fear in you." I was dumbfounded; but was somewhat ashamed because

59. Quoted by Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), p. 44.

60. I.B. Tabata, "Education and Political Order in South Africa, 1902–1961," Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1973, p. 285.

61. Ibid.

62. See for example the "Resolutions of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress," May 28-29, 1923, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. I, p. 298.

you and I, outside our jobs for which we are paid, have not done the best we can to assist our people.[63]

In summary, the views expressed by J.T. Jabavu, D.D. Jabavu and John Dube cannot be discussed meaningfully outside the context of the social forces that shaped their lives. J.T. Jabavu was concerned with the education of the emerging elite while D.D. Jabavu and Dube focused on the accommodation of the elite and the education of the masses. D.D. Jabavu and Dube distinguished between education of the masses and education for the elite. For them, while the elite should be nurtured with higher levels of academic knowledge and skills to enable it to uplift the masses, the latter should be provided only with those skills that could turn them into a more productive force. J.T. Jabavu represented the concerns of an emerging minority whose survival was uncertain unless social conditions for its reproduction were immediately created. Their biographies form an important chapter of the history of a socially and ideologically dislocated social group in search of an identity. Thus, the Government's educational strategy of concentrating the curriculum for African schools on industrial or manual training had some appeal to the educational thinking of J.T. Jabavu and Dube.

Christian liberalism and white liberal institutions constituted the framework in which their identities, outlook and practices gained shape. Liberal institutions, particularly the Joint Councils, translated into practice their lobbying politics, particularly their commitment to a constitutional policy of peaceful co-existence and liberal reforms within the existing system. Liberal institutions also reinforced the belief and hope that white opinion could be modified and prevailed upon through education and debate to extend justice to the African people. By promoting racial co-operation, these institutions contributed towards delaying the early emergence and growth of an assertive and radical African nationalism, which became the distinctive feature of the Congress Youth League in the 1940s.[64] Thus the shaping of African identities and discourses in the first half of the century must be seen within the framework of Christian liberalism which dominated African thought and practices in the 1920s and 1930s.

63. A.B. Xuma, "Presidential Address," in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p. 173.

64. Ranuga, "Marxism and Black Nationalism…," op cit, p. 105.

Africanism and Charterism, 1948–1976

Throughout the African continent, the post-World War II era marked the transition from pro-nationalism to militant nationalism and struggles for national liberation. In South Africa too there was increasing radicalization of the black middle class, and a widening of the democratic movement, culminating in the banning of political organizations in 1960. An outstanding feature of this nationalism was its anti-liberal spirit in contrast to the reformism and moderation of the 1920s and 1930s. White sympathisers—first the missionaries and then white liberals—were accused of always using their "friendship" to break African unity. Consequently, some Africans chose to go it alone.[65] Co-operation between left-wing organisations, particularly between the ANC and the CPSA, made possible the promotion of radical ideas, including Marxism, in black politics. The dogmatism of the 1920s gave way to a more critical Marxism. Educational opinions voiced by black intellectuals can be correctly interpreted only with reference to the emerging political and ideological mood within the opposition. In education, they focused on one major issue: segregated schooling, particularly the system of Bantu Education introduced by the apartheid regime in 1953. Strong opposition to Bantu Education came mainly from the group of Africans who had generally assimilated and come to value much of Western culture, and who considered education along Western lines a key element for the place that they envisaged for themselves within South African society and economy. In this context, names such as D.G.S. M'timkulu, L.L. Sihlali, I.B. Tabata, P. Nxantala, J.E.B. Msomi, R.M. Sobukwe, Zeph Motopheng and E'skia Mphahlele, spring to mind.[66]

From the mid-1940s onwards, Africans, coloureds, Indians and progressive whites developed their ideas towards issues of common concern, particularly the issue of active resistance to apartheid oppression and the struggle for national liberation. The most radical sections of the African intelligentsia sharing developing ideas in the ANC, CPSA and the white democratic movement, laid the founda-

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65. See PAC, *Speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe* (New York: PAC Observer Mission to UN), n.d.

66. See D.G.S. M'timkulu, "The African and Education," *Race Relations Journal,* 16(3), 1959; and L.L. Sihlali, "Bantu Education and the African Teacher," *Africa South,* 1(1), 1956.

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tions for the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Four main factors played a crucial role in this ideological shift: (1) the establishment of the African National Congress Youth League (CYL) in 1944, which brought militant radical politics into the ANC and the democratic movement; (2) the spirit of cooperation between the ANC and the CPSA and other progressive organisations created during the 1946 strike; (3) increasing scepticism about the meaningfulness of the slogan "Africa for the Africans" within senior ANC leadership; and (4) the accession to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, which unleashed a spirit of defiance and the need for a united action against apartheid, particularly between the CYL and the CPSA. The League brought together prominent personalities such as A.M. Lembede (president), Oliver R. Tambo (secretary), Walter Sisulu (treasurer), A.P. Mda, Nelson Mandela and W. Nkomo. Two main theoretical and ideological traditions emerged from this body: Africanism and Charterism, which will be discussed now.

Africanism:
"Africa for the Africans by the Africans"

Lembede, whose short life ended in 1947 when he was only 33, became the pioneer of the nationalist movement known as "Africanism." The slogan *"Africa for the Africans by the Africans"* captures precisely the nationalist ideology shared by the Africanists. As stated in the CYL Manifesto of March 1944, Africanism held that: (1) the African should "determine his own future by his own efforts" without relying on white tutelage, for "no nation can free an oppressed group other than that group itself"; (2) the African liberation and African unity; and (3) the African should strive to achieve African liberation and African unity; and (3) the African should borrow useful ideologies from outside but reject the wholesale importation of "foreign ideologies" into Africa.[67] It assumed that:

> The Africans are a conquered race, their oppression is a racial oppression, in other words, they do not suffer class oppression. They are oppressed by virtue of their colour as

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67. "Congress Youth League Manifesto," March 1944, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p. 300. See also A.M. Lembede, "Some Basic Principles of African Nationalism," in *Inyaniso,* February 1945, reproduced in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. III, p. 315.

a race—as a group—as a nation! In other words they are suffering national oppression.[68]

Africanism has also been seen as an "attitude of mind," a way of life, an act of consciousness emphasising a sense of pride in being an African and, consequently, a commitment to the promotion of the ideals of the continent. Africanism dominated the policy of the CYL and penetrated the highest ranks of the ANC, where it co-existed with a developing Charerist tradition until the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1958. With regard to education, these developments did not bring about significant policy shifts within the ANC. Education was regarded as a means to ensure the realisation of an effective democracy. The strategies for achieving this ideal included the implementation of free compulsory education for all children and mass adult education.[69]

When the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1958, it reasserted the Africanist philosophy as outlined by Lembede and later by Sobukwe. In the PAC's view, an ideology of multi-racialism within the liberation movement lacked the emotional appeal to mobilise African support. Only an ideology based on orthodox or exclusive African nationalism could be dynamic and powerful enough to attract the African masses to the struggle. African socialism based on traditional African communalism became popular among Africanist leaders.

The Freedom Charter:
"A people's charter by the people for the people"

Despite the initial isolationist attitude of the CYL, the intensification of state repression and the promulgation of the Suppression of Communist Act necessitated a common strategy between the ANC, the ANC Youth League, the Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Communist Party. For this purpose, a Joint Planning Council was established in May 1950 as a

68. Letter on the Youth League, from A.P. Mda to G.M. Pitje, August 24, 1948, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p. 330.
69. "Basic Policy of Congress Youth League," Manifesto issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League, 1948, in Karis & Carter, op cit, Vol. II, p. 323.

co-ordinating body. The ANC finally adopted the Programme of Action designed by the CYL in 1949, which called for active boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non-co-operation in the struggle for national freedom. All these developments together resulted in a favourable atmosphere for the Defiance Campaign of 1953–5. This in turn generated the right climate for the staging of a multi-racial alliance uniting the ANC, CYL, the newly-formed Congress of Democrats and SACTU, which provided a forum for the drafting of the "Freedom Charter" on 25–26 June 1955 at Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

The Freedom Charter represented a unifying symbol for all those blacks and whites who had firmly committed themselves to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It marks the beginning of the formulation of alternative policies to the existing political dispensation in South Africa. Thus the concept of "people of South Africa" was redefined to encompass not just blacks or Africans, but "all who live in it, black and white."[70] Most importantly, a clear policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa was formulated. Broadly speaking, this had as its goals: (1) the replacement of all bodies of minority rule by democratic organs of government; (2) equal rights for all national groups; (3) redistribution of wealth to all South Africans, including nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry; (4) the sharing of land amongst those who work it; (5) equality before the law; (6) equal human rights; (7) employment, housing and peace for all; (8) free, compulsory, universal and equal education for all children as well as the abolition of the colour bar in cultural life, sport and education.[71]

The last of these goals provided the basis for the ANC's educational programme developed in the course of the liberation struggle. This aimed at preparing cadres to serve in the national liberation struggle and the post-liberation phase, and at training them to be able to serve society in all fields of social activity.[72] The programme embodied the following principles: (1) the ANC education policy was

70. See the "Freedom Charter" in I.A. Polley, The Freedom Charter and the Future (Cape Town: IDASA, 1988), p. 134.
71. Ibid.
72. See "African National Congress (SA) Education Policy," paper presented to the seminar on Education, Development and Social Transformation (Gaborone: National Institute of Research, 1982), pp. 218–219.

to be geared towards producing a new type of society "dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole," i.e. irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; (2) the ANC educational programme would draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge of the people of South Africa and the world; (3) education would combat the division between mental and manual training and the artificial separation of the arts and sciences; and (4) democratic practice was to prevail among students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.[73]

The Freedom Charter also marked the beginning of a new tradition in African thought and politics: Charterism. Drawing extensively on Marxist theory and African nationalism, Charterism identified the working class as the main and leading force within the struggle for democracy in South Africa. This position distinguished between two major camps in the struggle: (1) the enemy; and (2) the mass democratic movement, made up of "the overwhelming majority of South Africans—the black working class, the rural masses, the black petty bourgeoisie (traders), and the black middle class strata (clerks, teachers, nurses, intellectuals), and those whites who stand shoulder to shoulder in struggle with the majority." A practical implication of this approach has been initiatives such as the intensification of trade unionism, worker education and literacy programmes to empower the working class, all of them developed on a non-racial basis.

However, neither the Congress alliance nor the Freedom Charter was accepted by all members of the Congress. The Africanists argued that, because of its multiracial character, the Freedom Charter was irreconcilable with the ideology of Africanism formulated by Lembede and the "Nation-Building" spirit proclaimed by the 1949 CYL Programme of Action. They considered the involvement of white liberals and left-wing groups in the national liberation movement unacceptable.[74] In 1958, this section broke away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress under the leadership of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.[75] They restored the Africanist philosophy. Their principles were outlined in

73. Ibid, pp. 220–221.
74. Ranuga, op cit, pp. 221–224.
75. R.M. Sobukwe was born in 1924 at Graaff-Reinet in the Cape Province. As a student he won a scholarship to Healdtown where he graduated in 1947. He entered Fort Hare University College where he distinguished himself as an outstanding student and activist. As an activist he became a member of the Fort Hare branch of the ANC Youth League. In 1949, he became the President of the Students' Representative Council

the 1959 Africanist Manifesto, known as the Madzunya Manifesto, after Josias Madzunya, who was known for his criticism of the Congress Alliance and who later played a leading role in the founding of the PAC.[76]

Black Consciousness:
"Black man you are on your own"

Two main factors led to the emergence of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s: (1) the political vacuum left when the ANC and the PAC were banned in 1960, and (2) the dissatisfaction of black students with white student politics in the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a predominantly white student body that viewed the problems of black people from a white liberal perspective.

However, Black Consciousness can also be seen as a peculiar and complex response to three main forms of social control: (1) attempts to inculcate conformist modes of behaviour, passivity and a psychological and cultural predisposition to accept the oppressive apartheid system through various agencies of control, particularly Bantu Education; (2) the past historical experience of blacks under apartheid; (3) broader political, economic and social circumstances to which blacks have been subjected. Under the leadership of Steve Bantu Biko, black students formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in Turfloop in 1968.[77] Their ideas soon reached beyond the

and National Secretary of the Youth League. After graduating in 1949, he taught in Standerton in the Eastern Transvaal where he was temporarily fired for his involvement in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. In 1954, he took a teaching post at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. It was here that Sobukwe became involved with the nurtured by the ideas of Anton Lembede, Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and others within the Pan-Africanist movement. His Africanist ideology was

76. See Chris More, "One man's struggle," an interview with Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng, in Tribune, March 1989, pp. 13–17. Madzunya was banished to Sibasa in 1962 after serving an 18-month jail term for incitement after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. He played a leading role in the Alexandra bus boycotts.

77. S. Biko was born in December 1946 in Kingwilliamstown, in the Cape Province. He received his early education in the Cape and attended St Francis College in Natal where he matriculated in 1965. He entered the medical school of the Non-European Section of the University of Natal, where he interrupted his studies in 1972 to pursue his political career. He then dedicated the rest of his life to the promotion of Black Con...

limits of campus life to involve the wider black society. In 1972, the Black People's Convention was created in Pietermaritzburg as an umbrella organisation representing a variety of educational, cultural, trade union, community and church organisations, operating under the banner of Black Consciousness.

Black Consciousness places emphasis on the overriding importance of the psychological aspects of the oppressed as a precondition to national liberation.[78] It is concerned with the liberation of the self or the colonised mind in the first instance.[79] This is how Biko defined Black Consciousness:

It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change is these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is the definition of "Black Consciousness."[80]

As with Africanism, Black Consciousness dismissed integration before liberation for it would allow white liberals to control the way blacks responded to the system.[81] While white liberals were seen as carriers of "complexes of superiority," blacks suffered from a chronic disease of inferiority that could degenerate into total apathy if there was integration in the liberation struggle. Yet white liberals had plenty of work to do in educating their community. However, other important factors seem to have contributed to the growing anti-liberalism within the liberation movement in South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s: (1) disillusionment with the failure of pre-1948 liberalism to fulfil its promises to minimise the increasing social and economic contradictions faced by Africans; (2) the emergence of "economic liberalism" in the 1960s, which emphasised a "human capital" ap-

sciousness ideology: Biko was murdered in prison during detention by the South African police on 12 September 1977.

78. S. Biko, *I Write What I Like* (London: Zed Press, 1979), p. 68.
79. Ibid., p. 49.
80. Ibid., p. 29.
81. Ibid., p. 66.

proach to South African economic, social and educational problems following the rise of the organic composition of capital and consequent mechanisation of industry. Liberals tended to be seen as siding with capitalist exploitative interests. Of significant importance also were the successes achieved by the African liberation movement in the struggle against colonialism on the continent.

Black Consciousness organisations also declared their commitment to a socialist ideal. For example, a Black People's Convention (BPC) congress in King William's Town in 1975 appealed for the need for a "strong, socialist, self-reliant economy."[82] The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), the "external wing" of the BCM launched in London in April 1980, assumed a more radical position. In its declaration of principles, the BCMA adopted "the theory and practice of scientific socialism to guide it in the struggle." Although there seems to be some ambiguity about the concept of socialism as proclaimed by both the Africanist and Black Consciousness traditions, socialism was in both cases the stated goal.[83] The two traditions do not seem to be colour blind, though the Africanists assumed a more restrained attitude and focused on the issue of national oppression.[84] However, they rejected the argument that the situation was one of class struggle rather than racial struggle.

The ideology of Black Consciousness did not remain unchanged. From 1976 the concept of class began to find its way into the thinking of some Black Consciousness leaders. Evidence shows that during the 1976 Soweto uprising, students not only expressed more radicalised attitudes, but, more importantly, they finally recognised that in the cause of liberation "the power for change lies with the work-

82. Ibid., p. 31.

83. Mothopeng puts it this way: "Socialism is a broad subject. It cannot be tackled from a simplistic premise. There are various strands of socialism, and Karl Marx - the man who propounded theories on socialism—did not prescribe a model for how it should be implemented. He laid the broad principles, philosophies and economic outlines. Socialism depends ultimately on the peculiar circumstances of those who wish to implement those broad principles." In Chris More, "One man's struggle," an interview with Zeph Mothopeng, *Tribute*, March 1989, p. 14.

84. Cunningham Ngcukana, quoted by Seleoane, "The Nactu Congress....," op cit, p. 32; see also Es'kia Mphahlele, "Towards a humanistic philosophy of education," in the *Capricorn Papers*, 1, December 1982, pp. 19–50; C. Manganyi, *Looking through the Key-hole* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981); and Sam Mabe, *Star Africa News*, 30 July 1987.

ers."[85] Apartheid began to be seen not just as a racist system but as an organic part of capitalism. Diliza Mji, the president of SASO, in his presidential address in 1977, referred to the issue of class or stratification in these terms:

> The need is therefore to look at our struggle not only in terms of colour interests but also in terms of class interests; skin colour in fact has become a class criterion in South Africa.[86]

What remained specific to Black Consciousness was the assumption that only black social agents and not white liberals or the white working class could bring about meaningful change in South Africa. The black working class enjoyed a unique position within the system in that its class condition was not only determined by economic factors but predetermined by skin colour. The BCMA reiterated similar principles in 1980: (1) the recognition of national oppression as a direct result of capitalism and imperialism and, consequently, the conceptualisation of the struggle as anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist; (2) the adoption of the struggle as anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist; the struggle; and (3) the realisation of the black working class, the most oppressed and exploited section of South African society, as the major force in the struggle.[87] However, the theory of scientific socialism was not entirely accepted by the internal wing of the Black Consciousness movement. Nonetheless, to the embarrassment of the South African Government, which considered the ANC an extremist organisation, subsequent developments in the 1980s brought about an increasing radicalisation of the Black Consciousness and Africanist leaders.

Educational ideas produced by African educationists were bound up with these ideological trends. Depending on whether class was recognised as an analytical category and on the role attributed to the working class, particularly the black working class, in the struggle for liberation, educational writing by black South Africans vacillated be-

85. No Sizwe, *One Nation One Azania* (London: Zed Press, 1979), p. 193.

86. Diliza Mji, "Presidential address to the 8th GCs," in *SASO Bulletin*, 1 (1), June 1977, p. 2.

87. Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, "Policy Statement," *Solidarity*, (4), October 1980, p. 4.

tween a Neo-Marxist/Charterist tradition[88] and an Africanist/Nationalist tradition.[89] However, mainstream literature produced by African writers still reflected the considerable influence of Africanist and Black Consciousness concepts. This was for example the case of the Council for Black Education and Research and its discussion forums.[90] Very few black intellectuals can be said to have engaged in a truly Marxist discourse.[91]

Seeking to Recreate a Lost Identity, 1948–1976: The Role of the Arts

Literature and other forms of artistic expression have a central role in the constitution of identity. Through them black South Africans emerged from conscious and subconscious subjugation to rescue their psyches from alienation and near obliteration and forge a collective

88. Es'kia Mphahlele, "Alternative education as process and goal," in Peter Randall (ed.), *Addressing Educational Crisis and Change*, Conference Papers (University of the Witwatersrand: Centre for Continuing Education, September 1987), pp. 85–93; Educa-Ogubule, "Education for liberation in South Africa," *South African Outlook*, 112(1335), September 1982, pp. 137–138; SACTU, "Education for liberation," *Workers Unity* (24), February 1981; Lebamang Sebidi, "A brick in the process of alternative education" in *Funda Forum*, 12(1), March 1986; Buti Thagale, "Education, liberation and empowerment," in Peter Randall (ed.), op cit, pp. 143–155; and Mokgethi Mothabi, *Black Resistance to Apartheid: Theory and Practice* (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1984).

89. N. Alexander, *Sow the Wind: Contemporary Speeches* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1985); E. Molobi, "Academics and the struggle for a democratic education," in *Kenton on the Rocks*, Kenton Conference, November 1987, pp. 7–16; and Z. Sisulu, "People's Education for People's Power," keynote address, NECC Conference, March 1986, in *Transformation*, (1), 1986.

90. Harry Mashabela, *Black South Africa: A People on the Boil, 1976–1986* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1986); Es'kia Mphahlele, "Alternative education as process and goal," in Peter Randall (ed.), op cit; Es'kia Mphahlele, "Alternative education as process and goal," in Peter Randall (ed.), op cit, pp. 85–93; S. Qgubule, op cit, pp. 137–138.

91. N. Alexander, op cit; N. Alexander, "Nation and ethnicity," *Work in Progress*, (28), August 1983, pp. 6–13; John Samuel, "The education context: Crisis and change," in P. Randall (ed.), op cit; Eric Molobi, "People's education," in Kenton Conference, under a State of Emergency," 20th Feetham Memorial lecture, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986; and Eric Molobi, "South Africa: Education under apartheid," Keynote address, Conference on United States Initiatives for the Education and Training of South Africans and Namibians, Michigan State University, 23 November 1986.

will to carry out the task allotted to them by history. For this purpose, they had to appropriate language to articulate their people's demands to take charge of their own lives and their political destiny. This section will examine the role of the creative arts in the search for identity amongst black South Africans from the 1950s.

The 1950s and early 1960s represented the golden age of African literary renaissance. *Drum Magazine* and its sister publication *The Golden City Post* brought together a group of talented writers including Can Themba, Nat Nakasa, Lewis Nkosi, Bloke Modisane, Todd Matshikiza, Arthur Maimane, Bessie Head, I.B. Tabata, Z.K. Matthews and E. Mphahlele.[92] Through essays written in a humorous tone they celebrated the culture of the sheeben and the unique experience of life in Sophiatown, though they never claimed to represent the masses or the struggles of the masses, nor had they important affiliations to the political movements. Theirs was a literature of knowledge and fantasy processed in an outstanding scholarly manner. This is what characterized what came to be known as the *Drum* generation of South African black writers. Tabata, who produced important essays on black education, considered "the power of the written word," when used properly, one of the two most powerful "weapons of struggle," the other being the boycott.[93]

Gordimer argues that by the 1960s prose writing by black South Africans was among the best in the continent.[94] However, police reaction to the peaceful demonstrations at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, the banning of African political organizations, the proclamation of a State of Emergency, and the Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963, forced most writers into exile. This marked the end of the *Drum* generation. What was left was a potpourri of history and fantasy, fiction and autobiography, prophecy and scholarly perception, and above all, testimony of the inside story on the experience of being black in South Africa.

However, after the banning of African nationalist organizations in 1960, many writers were jailed or fled into exile. Black performers

92. Jane Watts, *Black Writers from South Africa - Towards a Discourse of Liberation* (Oxford: Macmillan, 1989), p. 2.

93. Letter: the National Anti-CAD Conference, 1943, UCT Ms and Archives, BC 925, UMSA, 1943–44.

94. Nadine Gordimer, *The Black Interpreters* (Johannesburg: SPRO-CAS/Ravan, 1973), p. 51.

and audiences were barred from city venues and restricted to townships. Using more accessible oral forms such as music, song and dance and sometimes making use of *tsotsitaal* patois (street slang), black performers re-created episodes of hope and frustration in township life, giving birth to popular theatre.[95] Poetry and drama were given prominence and used as a means of political and cultural communication, or, as Sole puts it, a means of conscientization to unite and mobilize people under the rubric of their black identity.[96] Committed writers expressed protest and demand, drawing on the experiential reality of blackness. Fermenting this cultural renaissance were of the South African political organizations such as the Cultural Committee of the South African Students' Organization (SASO), the Cultural Council of Natal (TECON), the People's Experimental Theatre (PET), the Mihloti Black Theatre Group and the Music Drama Arts and Literature Institute (MDALI). Of considerable importance was also the influence of black theology, particularly liberation theology, under the leadership of prominent religious personalities such as Bishops Desmond Tutu and M. Buthelezi. The following description by Gordimer captures this development:

Disaffected intellectuals use the autobiographical form as a catharsis for the sufferings of second-class citizens with first-class brains; ex-political detainees create a prison literature; exiles have created a small but significant category — "Escape" books. Many novels and stories deal with the humiliations — social, sexual, economic — of life seen from the dark side of a colour bar.[97]

An important trend in African writings from the late 1960s was undoubtedly the shift from prose and literature of artistry; performance and the literature of power. It was also a shift of the concept of a black person as a sort of imitation of a white person towards the concept of a black person who had developed a sense of self-esteem. Most important is the dominance of the political struggle as the main theme or what Gordimer calls the "Let My People Go" theme.[98] The discourse in which this cultural revolution took place

95. K. Sole, "Oral performance and social change in contemporary black South African literature," in *TriQuarterly 69*, Spring/Summer 1987, p. 255.

96. For further details see for example, Gordimer, op cit.

97. Gordimer, op cit, p. 7.

98. Gordimer, op cit, and K. Sole, op cit.

was that of unity in racial terms or unity of the "dispossessed" and black identity. The mood was simple and primitive in what it expressed and often in the manner of expression. As Davis et al described the New Negro Renaissance in America:

> It was primitive in the sense of stripping experience—the experience of blackness as interpreted by black poets and novelists, essayists and editors, singers and composers—down to the quivering marrow of emotional content, psychological relevance, and racial insight.[99]

Populist orientation which dominated the post-1960 generation encouraged writers to seek alternative media and distribution systems and "turn from white-directed protest to black-directed conscientization."[100] Thus oral tradition gained prominence as authors targeted their audiences by performing at gatherings, meetings and funerals. Poetry flourished again and poets such as Oswald Mtshali, Sipho Sepamla, Mongane Serote, Mafika Gwala and Don Mattera published their work. This is not to say that scholarly work came to an end. The poems of Dennis Brutus and Arthur Norje, the novels of Bessie Head, Mphahlele and Nkosi, Mongane Serote and Mothobi Mutloatse, Mbulelo Mzamane and Ndjabulo Ndebele, Richard Rive and Alex La Guma, and many others, remained in the mainstream of (English-written) literature.

After 1976 new groups emerged including Mpumalanga Arts in Natal, the Guyo Book Club, Bayajula, Khauleza and the Creative Youth Organization in the Transvaal to promote literature, performance, sculpture, painting and other forms of political art, particularly when some city venues such as The Market in Johannesburg and The Space in Cape Town became available. The foundation of the literary magazine Staffrider in 1978 and cultural groups linked to the trade union movement also played a catalytic role. Efforts were made to establish black publishing houses such as BLAC Publishing House and Skotaville Publishers and organizations such as the African Writers Association, formed in 1981, later to become the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW), which have had considerable impact on promoting African literature. As will be shown in

99. Arthur Davis et al, The New Cavalcade: African-American Writing from 1760 to the Present, I (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1991), p. 325.
100. Watts, op cit, p. 4.

the next chapter, the concerns of artists, writers and performers at this stage were with the need for a national resistance culture and a sense of national identity, particularly amongst youth.

Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that there has been a relatively direct correlation at each historical stage between dominant black politics, educational discourses promoted by the African intelligentsia and identity formations amongst Africans. Early African "modernisers," politicians and writers within and outside the SANNC/ANC, tended to share the political and moral values and educational ideals propagated by the white liberal establishment. In their perspective, these ideals could be entirely and satisfactorily fulfilled within the existing political dispensation. They constructed their social and political identities within the framework of Christianity and liberalism. Writers such as Sol Plaatje and Thomas Mofolo, Benedict Vilakazi and H.I.E. Dhlomo were brought up under the influence of Christian liberalism, and converted to Christianity and to the cultural values of the West propagated by the missionaries and other white liberals, which they came to cherish and appropriate. Their writings which appeared in the 1930s, followed by Peter Abraham's novels and Ezekiel Mphahlele's short stories in the 1940s, reflected initial attempts at self-discovery and self-representation within a hostile social and political order. They also reflected the political ambiguities and the identity crisis faced by the educated elite during the first half of the century. The moral tone of Christian liberalism and the liberal tolerance of the 1930s expressed by contacts between whites and blacks nourished an illusion of improvement in the political situation and hope and optimism about the breaking down of racial barriers. Consequently, racism and the experiences it imposed on black individuals received particular attention in their writings.

It was not until the 1950s and the 1960s that the liberal and reformist perspective came under fire within an emerging atmosphere of militant anti-liberalism and commitment to national liberation. Accommodationist strategies were finally defeated. Elements of an orthodox nationalism were incorporated and developed into three main intellectual and ideological traditions with different implications for education: Africanism, Black Consciousness and Charterism. They all came under the increasing influence of Marxist theory by which they

differently explained the role of class and race in the struggle for national liberation.[101] This is partly due to the failure of orthodox Africanist theories to come to grips with the complexity of the crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. The new political identities were stimulated by the unprecedented development of literature and creative arts in the 1950s and 1960s. After the intercregnum of the mid-sixties, determined by increasing political repression, Africans found their expression and new modes of self-representation in popular arts—poetry, music and sculpture—which followed the emergence of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s.

101. Ranuga, op cit, p. 3.

Chapter Ten

Youth, Politics and Identity in South African Education

Clearly we must recognize the existence of a deep division of thought and outlook, reflected behaviour, between generations.... Young people today have enough independence and affluence...to constitute an autonomous group with a culture of its own. They think differently from their elders about the structure of politics, organized religion, sexual relations, class assumptions, the values of career, ambition and many other things. (*New Statesman*, 7th July, 1967.)

Introduction

Chapters Two and Six described how youth organizations were developed in order to promote Afrikaner nationalism among youth and according to the foundations of Christian Nationalist philosophy. Youth and student organizations were formed to unite all Afrikaans youth, further "white Christian civilization as a bulwark against communism," and resist all liberal and "communist" influences in education, particularly in institutions of higher education. A variety of cultural initiatives were undertaken by youth organizations to achieve these objectives. An identity crisis within the Afrikaner establishment resulted in attempts to construct new identities amongst white Afrikaner youth. This chapter addresses the question of identity formation and images of identity amongst black youth. The theory developed in this chapter posits the following arguments: (1) the identities of black youth were constructed predominantly around *tsotsi* (street gang) cultural practices;[1] (2) with the expansion of the

1. *Tsotsi* culture was a culture manufactured on the streets where black urban youths spent most of their leisure time because of the absence of other outlets into which their energies could be channelled.

secondary school system, demographic pressures and the development of new forms of ideological and political socialization (e.g. Black Consciousness) in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and in particular the Soweto uprising in 1976 and its consequences, the emerging street gang culture was increasingly brought into school grounds; (3) these became *melting-pots* where school cultures inherited from past rural experience, street gang culture and new cultural forms were combined and processed to forge a wider, national youth identity expressed in youth politics, particularly in resistance culture; and (4) contradictions generated in the making of this culture and increasing state repression resulted in a profound identity crisis among black youth in the late 1980s (the symptoms were internal struggles, the phenomenon of the *comtsotsis*, the resurgence of gangsterism victimizing the comrades (freedom fighters) and schoolchildren, and the emergence of middle-class youth identities).[2]

The chapter involves four main levels of analysis. Firstly, it discusses the dialectic between youth culture and subcultures and the formation of youth identities with reference to the concepts put forward by revisionist theorists. Secondly, it periodizes the development of an urban youth culture in South Africa with emphasis on street gang or *tsotsi* subcultures. Thirdly, it deconstructs the images of Self and Other as articulated by the various youth identity groups. The chapter also explores policy implications for addressing problems experienced by youth, particularly the disempowered youth.[3] In line with the aims set in the introduction to this book, the ultimate goal of this chapter is also to contribute a historical background and a framework that may help to inform the debate on policy development in South Africa.

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2. *Comtsotsis* is the term used to refer to ex-*comrades*, gangs who joined the resistance movement after the 1976 school crisis but were not able to assimilate its political discipline, or marginalized youth who have appropriated the status and the label of *comrade* to serve their opportunistic goals.

3. This is the sector of youth population which has been known as "the marginalised youth," "the lost generation" and, as this writer suggests, the disempowered youth.

Youth, Culture and Identity: A Conceptual Framework

Literally, subcultures are "cultures within cultures."[4] Societies are internally differentiated into several identity sub-groups. By participating in these sub-groups, each with its own way of thinking and doing things, that one can acquire only by ready share and embody, in their thinking and action, their culture patterns. Differences in these subgroups can involve style, modes of spending leisure time, politics, games, food, language and popular vocabulary, and dress.[5] In this sense, as Cohen puts it, there is "the culture of a neighbourhood and of a family, clique or gang within the neighbourhood."[6] The images attached to the practices and values pertaining to each of these subcultures have a central role in the construction of youth identities. A typical example is the imagery surrounding "delinquent subcultures," as portrayed by government officials: ignorance, bad habits and all kinds of negative behaviour. Cohen has the following interesting example about how parents respond to this imagery when dealing with their children:

When Mrs. Jones says: "My Johnny is really a good boy but got to running around with the wrong bunch and got into trouble," she is making a set of assumptions which, when spelled out more explicitly, constitute the foundations of an important school of thought in the scientific study of juvenile delinquency. She is affirming that delinquency is neither an inborn disposition nor something the child has contrived by himself, that children learn to become delinquents by becoming members of groups in which delinquent conduct is already established and "the thing to do"; and that a child need not be "different" from other children, that he need not have any twists or defects of personality or intelligence in order to become delinquent....She

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4. A.K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys—The Culture of the Gang* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 12.

5. See M. Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 12.

6. Cohen, op cit, p. 12.

is saying that juvenile delinquency is a subculture. The concept of "culture" is familiar enough to the modern layman. It refers to knowledge, beliefs, values, codes, tastes and prejudices that are traditional in social groups and that are acquired by participation in such groups.[7]

An important fact for this study is that the imagery associated with a subculture can serve the purpose of attaching or detaching groups of people from particular identity groups. For example, while gang members construct their identity around characteristics such as courage, masculinity, adventurism, excitement and so forth, which are appealing to them, their opponents explore terrifying images of *tsotsi-ism* and hooliganism to discourage young people from joining gang groupings.

In an impressively argued article, Clarke et al develop a framework with reference to which subcultures, particularly youth subcultures, can be conceptualized. Their concern is to show the importance of class as a necessary analytical tool in the study of youth subcultures. Their major thesis rests on the assumption that in modern societies the most fundamental groups are the *social classes* and the major cultural configurations, in a fundamental though often mediated way, are *class cultures*.[8] Clarke et al suggest that subcultures should be regarded as forms within which "imaginary" ways of resolving the real contradictions which groups face, but which they are unable to resolve practically, are posed, lived and rehearsed. They define subcultures as sub-sets and distinctive parts of major class cultural configurations (parent cultures), such as for example urban working-class cultures. The membership of a subculture necessarily involves membership of a parent culture. A subculture may be an extension of, or in opposition to, the parent culture. However, a subculture may even form its own sub-world. In functional terms, subcultures exist where there is some form of organized and recognized constellation of values, behaviour and action, which are responded to as different from the prevailing sets of norms and value systems. Thus, an understanding of youth subcultures is essential for an explanation of how youth groups construct their identities.

7. Ibid, p. 11.

8. J. Clarke, S. Hall, T. Jefferson and B. Roberts, "Sub-cultures, cultures and class," in T. Bennet et al (eds), *Ideology and Social Process—A Reader* (London: The Open University Press, 1986), p. 55.

Clarke et al also suggest that subcultures must be analyzed in terms of their relation to the dominant culture, which they define as Working-class youth cultures and all other subordinate subcultures share the same position *vis-à-vis* the dominant hegemonic culture, the same fundamental and determining life-experiences, as the parent culture from which they derive. Further, there is no sub-cultural solution to the problems posed for them by their material and social class position and experience—youth unemployment, educational disadvantage, and low pay.[10] They conclude with the important point that this double articulation of youth subcultures to their parent culture and to the dominant culture represents a necessary way of staging the analysis of youth culture.[11] This chapter suggests that to understand the nature of youth subcultures in South Africa, another dimension must be added to the double articulation of youth subcultures, the *mediation* played by *race* and *gender* in relation to the dominant culture.

The argument that in their articulation with the dominant culture and between them, subcultures reflect the layout of social subgroups in their hegemonic struggles makes a lot of sense. They are determined by the relationships of domination and subordination in which these social configurations stand and the processes of incorporation and resistance which define the cultural dialectic between them.[12]

However, to locate youth culture in this kind of analysis, it is important first to situate black youth in the context of the processes of national oppression, in which race has played a dominant role. Under apartheid, race located youth, at a formative stage of their development, in a particular material and cultural milieu, in distinctive relations and experiences. Through family, township and school, youth were socialized into a race identity which formed and framed their

9. Ibid, p. 56.

10. Ibid, p. 57.

11. The concept of subculture is used in this study as an indicator of variance in the configuration of youth culture, e.g. *mapantsula* street clubs (groups of youth who gather to dance to the South African music called *mapantsula*), soccer clubs, music gangs and so forth.

12. Clarke et al. (eds), op cit, p. 56.

passage into a class.[13] Race also structured the young individuals' life-chances, determined the distribution of achievement and failure and produced "realistic" expectations in black youth about future opportunities. The apartheid system, through race classification, marriage controls and other institutional means, enforced modes of conduct, rules and social barriers that prevented inter-racial mobility, which created among blacks particular ways of experiencing, interpreting and telling about the world and social life. This is not to imply that blacks were mere victims of the system, who simply internalized the principles and the rules impinged upon them. The socialized were always active in their own socialization; they acquired the predictable coding procedures, very often predicated upon distinctive rules.[14] They developed images of themselves and constellations of interests, which united them and provided them with particular distinctiveness in their responses to historical, social or political situations.

Through the process of national oppression, young individuals were inserted into the culture of race before being framed into the culture of class. This explains why black middle class subcultures did not manifest as such by virtue of any form of participation in the dominant cultural order but mainly as a result of their hegemonic articulation with working class cultures. Their class position as middle-class could not protect them from the determining matrix of experiences and conditions imposed by race and national oppression. Race

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13. In a recent paper I made the following comment: "South Africa is clearly a limit case where the salience of racial and ethnic features cannot for a moment be denied. The process of race polarization and its concomitant cultural implications must not be ignored in analyzing culture in South Africa. Brake puts it nicely: 'for black people their primary identity, the way in which they are reacted to, and the way in which they act upon the world is mediated by their colour, and the oppression that brings, structurally, politically, psychologically and economically.'" Without romanticizing it, it is race which defines them, which acts against them, and which unites them. Their class position subscribes their economic position, but race is the *subjectivity* in which their class position is lived, and shapes their relation to the world. (M. Cross, "Culture, power and schools," Institute for Advanced Study and Research in the African Humanities, Northwestern University, March 1993, p. 20)

14. For details on the dynamics of socialization in a process of cultural reproduction see Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control—Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions* 2nd ed. (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 1–33.

produced material dislocations which resulted in a displaced, dislocated and unsettled class condition and a disconnection in relation to the general layout of dominant middle-class culture(s). Black middle-class subcultures appeared disaffiliated by negation and their dislocated inception into the dominant culture. This is because in South Africa blacks were by definition a *subordinate* social and cultural formation within the social hierarchy.

Youth culture can thus be seen as a complex kaleidoscope of a variety of subcultures, of different age groups and different gender composition in them and their common historical experience of racial and national oppression under the apartheid system. Class, race, language, gender and generation all together generate youth cultural responses and identity consciousness. Complementing these broader categories are also the social meanings of township life, community, neighbourhood and "gang territory."

In functional terms, Baron describes youth culture as the values and actions that "young people develop to cope with shared experiences or shared social problems."[15] According to him, youth participate in subcultures in an attempt to minimize structural problems emanating from their social and economic condition.[16] For example, resisting the expectations of school and work under apartheid could create identities outside those ascribed by education and occupation. In this sense, youth subcultures, whether manifested through physical appearance (style) or through expressions of protest (songs, demonstrations), are very often seen as "symbolic violations of the social order" that are met with severe criticism from the dominant culture.[17]

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15. See S.W. Baron, "Resistance and its consequences...," op cit, p. 208; and S. Frith, "The sociology of youth," in Michael Haralabos (ed.), *Sociology: New Directions* (Ormskirk: Causeway, 1985), pp. 301–368.

16. As has been pointed out, this paper holds that there is no sub-cultural solution to problems posed for youth by their material and social class position and experience.

17. See G. Mungham & G. Pearson, *Working Class Youth Cultures* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); S. Hall & T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain* (London Hutchinson, 1976), p. 10; M. Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985); J. Muncie, *Politics, Ideology and Popular Culture* (London: Open University Press, 1981); and S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1980).

Literature on Youth in South Africa

Literature dealing with youth in SA[18] falls within two main traditions: (1) literature within a consensus model (liberal or conservative); and (2) literature within a conflict model. The first concentrates almost exclusively on those aspects perceived by the previous state as of "national interest" such as "riots," "terrorism" and "black on black violence" or "tribal clashes" and "delinquency," to use conventional terminology. It tended to propagandize a variety of images to vilify and denigrate youth oppositional practices as decadent social behaviour. These were generally explained as: (1) aimless and gratuitous violence; (2) erosion of traditional authority, community and family control; (3) imitation of violent behavior transmitted by mass media; (4) social disorganization involving the breakdown of "civilized" behavior; (5) the communist onslaught; (6) influence of violent gangs in slum neighbourhoods;[19] and (7) "infiltration of undesirable elements" amongst youth or manipulation of youth by "political agitators."[20]

Cultural roots were traced to explain the violent nature of all these forms of behaviour. Cloete for example argued that a culturally inspired view of violence still existed in modern black communities. He went on to say that "the idea that violent action is inadmissible, is not yet internalized, and many members of these communities still re-

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18. For a detailed review of literature on youth culture in South Africa see M. Cross, "Youth culture and resistance: A theoretical review," *Perspectives in Education*, 12(2), 1991 and M. Cross, "A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment," *Comparative Education*, 22(3) 1986 or M. Cross, *Resistance and Transformation—Education, Culture and Reconstruction in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1992), Chs 1 and 3.

19. Bob Hitchcock, *Flashpoint South Africa* (Cape Town: Don Nelson, 1977); A.J. Gilbert, *A Socio-Psychological Study of the Unrest in African Schools* (University of Zululand, 1982); A. Gordon, *School Performance in Soweto: A Study of Environmental Constraints and Academic Achievement* (Johannesburg: CSIR/NIPR Report No. 361, 1983); and David Ginkel, *Inside Soweto* (Johannesburg: Eastern Enterprises, 1986).

20. See J. van der Westhuizen (ed.), *Crimes of Violence in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, Sigma Press, 1982); A. Brooks & J. Brickhill, *Whirlwind before the Storm: The Origins and Development of the Uprising in Soweto and the Rest of South Africa from June to December 1976* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1980).

gard it as an acceptable form of behaviour."[21] Without denying the empirical basis which supports allegations such as this, the problem is that they preclude any possibility of emancipatory practices, concealing the meaning, creativity and the counter-hegemonic nature of some youth subcultures. They cannot account for identities constructed in the context of the counter-hegemonic movement against the apartheid imagery.

"Conflict-model" literature considers class, race and gender as important analytical categories. Literature under this category stresses the need to recognize the power of children in determining or conditioning the course of state policy and social process in South Africa.[22] It calls for an analysis which recognizes: (1) the role of the political economy in the shaping of youth identities and oppositional practices; (2) the role played by the contradictions within the institutional structure of the school; (3) the importance of the sociological categories such as generational unit,[23] race, class and gender in the analy-

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21. M.G.T. Cloete, "Social bases and the prevention of crimes of violence," in J. van der Westhuizen (ed.), op cit, p. 57.

22. See for example A. Callinicos & J. Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto Press, 1978); L. Chisholm, "From revolt to a search for alternatives: Broadening the education base," *Work in Progress*, (42), May 1986, pp. 14–19; F. Molteno, "Students take control: The 1980 boycott of Coloured education in the Cape Peninsula," *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8(1), 1987; F. Molteno, "The Schooling of black South Africans and the 1980 Cape Town students' boycott: A sociological interpretation," MSocSc thesis, University of Cape Town, 1983; F. Molteno, "The Schooling 16th June: A review of the literature in South Africa 1976," *Social Dynamics*, 5(1), 1979; J. Hyslop, "School student movements and state education policy: 1972–1987," seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, April 1987; J. Hyslop, "Food, authority and politics: Student riots in South African schools, 1945–1976," *Africa Perspective*, 4, 1987; R. Levin, "Conceptualising 'the People' in People's Education: People's Education and democratic transformation in South Africa," Education Department Research Seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; M. Swilling & T. Lodge, "The year of the Amabutho," *Africa Report*, January–February 1986; and J. Muller, "People's Education for People's Power," *South African Review 4*, 1987.

23. C. Bundy, "Street sociology and pavement politics: Aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13(3), April 1987, pp. 301–330; C. Bundy, "South Africa on the switchback" and "Schools and revolution," *New Society*, 3 & 7, January 1986; Paul la Hausse, "Mayibuhone!: Towards an understanding of Amalaita gangs in Durban, c. 1900–1930," African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987; M.O. Nkomo, *Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities* (Westport: Greenwood, 1984); M.O. Nkomo, "The contradictions of Bantu Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, 51(1), 1981; P.L.

sis of youth culture. This set of literature can be subdivided into three categories according to the prevailing paradigmatic positions: (1) those who give primacy to the role of structures in shaping youth cultural forms; (2) those who give primacy to "human agency"; and, most importantly; (3) those who seek a balance between the two schools of thought.[24] The last position re-asserts the role of contestation and resistance, though it recognizes the importance of the existing social and economic agencies in generating or reproducing particular subcultures, e.g. middle class youth subcultures.

Attempts to reconstruct the history and sociology of youth culture within this framework are found in the writings of Nkomo, Bonner, Glaser, Bundy and Seekings.[25] They have developed important theoretical elements for an understanding of the evolution and the nature of youth culture in South Africa. These are: (1) Seekings' contention that the changing political economy has some bearing on the diverging forms of political action or identity; (2) Nkomo's assumption that complex and contradictory dynamics in education have played a crucial role in the shaping of youth resistance culture; (3) Bonner's use of a class approach to understand the dialogue between black working class cultures and the dominant culture; and (4) Bundy's notion of a self-conscious generational unit with its own counter ideology, the demographic pressure determined by the large proportion of youth in the total population and an over-production of graduates with no or little opportunity of employment.

Against this background, one can speculate that increasing alienation from the prevailing economic, political and social structure has

Bonner, "Black urban cultures and the politics of black squatter movements on the Rand, 1944–1955," unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; P.L. Bonner, "Family, crime and political consciousness on the East Rand 1939–1955," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14(3), April 1988, pp. 393–420 (for this chapter I used the 1987 unpublished version); and C. Glaser, "Students, *tsotsis* and the Congress Youth League: Youth organisation on the Rand in the 1940s and 1950s," *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2), 1988/9, pp. 1–15; J. Seekings, "Why was Soweto different? Urban development, township politics, and the political economy of Soweto, 1977–1984," African Studies Seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988).

24. For a detailed discussion of the concepts employed here, see M. Cross "Education for national culture in South Africa: Problems and possibilities," in D. Freer (ed.) *Towards Open Schools: Possibilities and Realities for Non-racial Education in South Africa* (Macmillan Boleswa: 1991).

25. See footnote 23.

produced a wide variety of cultural responses amongst urban black South African youth. The expression of these responses ranges from disaffection from school work, classroom disobedience, school boycotts, "stayaways" and absenteeism, to social crime and street-gang life, activities that oral and documentary evidence suggest have occurred with some continuity during the past two decades. All these activities constitute the basis of three main forms of black youth subcultures: (1) "lumpen" and unemployed youth delinquent and semi-delinquent subcultures; (2) middle-class cultural rebellion and reformist movements; and (3) working-class cultural students and youth resistance culture, activism and political military.

This stratification sometimes appears blurred because of the dominant role played by race in mediating social relations. The three social groups have generally experienced similar living conditions in the townships. Black youths have been floating from one class or cultural category to another. Similarities are strong in their lifestyles, aesthetics and symbols—in dress, dance, music, forms of interaction and the whole style of rhetoric. A strong sense of political identity built in opposition to apartheid education brought the three categories of youth together for a long period from the 1970s in spite of their contradictory and very often conflicting values and modes of behaviour. I shall now examine how these subcultures have developed in education and wider community life throughout South African history. An attempt will be made to highlight their interrelatedness at given points in time.

Youth, Culture and Identity in South Africa, 1888–1990: An Historical Perspective

The history of youth culture in South Africa can be divided into the following periods: (1) 1888–1939, the increasing disintegration of pre-colonial African cultures; (2) 1939–1955, the emergence of black urban working-class cultures; (3) 1955–1976, the emergence of youth working-class cultures; (4) 1976–1985, the development of youth resistance culture; and (5) 1985–1990, crisis of identity within youth resistance culture and the emergence of youth middle-class cultures.[26]

26. This periodization is based on major changes of the political economy of the working class.

The Disintegration of Pre-colonial African Cultures, 1884–1939

During the South African industrial revolution profound changes began to take place on the periphery of the main industrial centres: the creation of reserves, the establishment of a migrant labour system, and the penetration of new economic and cultural forms into traditional societies, as a result of changes in the division of family labour and the impact of new values and patterns of life from urban areas. Particular identities developed around a wide range of activities reserved to youth such as taking care of cattle, guarding farms against birds and monkeys, and music and dance. However, despite the relative distinctiveness of youth culture and the particular social identities of youth, no significant development of youth *tsotsi* behaviour and practices took place.

Wolpe's *dissolution/conservation* thesis offers a good theoretical framework for explaining this.[27] So long as pre-capitalist modes of production survived, they restricted the recomposition of social relationships and reabsorbed part of the labour force, including unemployed youth, thrown off by capital. They thus provided for the structural reintegration of unemployed youth into traditional relationships that prevented the proliferation of delinquent behaviour.[28] Structural reincorporation was consolidated by a wide range of cultural institutions such as *lobola*[29] and *boca*[30] and forms of socialization that accompanied everyday activities in the village (herding, chasing birds from the farms), which reintegrated them into communal relationships, exerted traditional controls that supported traditionally acceptable behaviour, and impeded alienation of youth and consequent development of anti-social subcultures. Therefore, embryonic anti-social youth subcultures were generally aborted or ab-

27. Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid," *Economy and Society*, November 1972, pp. 425–456.

28. C. Hartjen, "Delinquency, development and social integration in India," *Social Problems*, (29), 1982, pp. 464–73.

29. Acknowledgement to the parents of the bride paid in cattle or money.

30. Tribute of about a pound paid to the chief in Southern Mozambique as an acknowledgement of a permission to go and work on South African mines or Rhodesian farms.

sorbed into parent/family cultures without being able to develop a distinctive and autonomous expression as happened with the increasing urbanization and integration of the peasant sector into the market economy.

The Emergence of Black Urban Cultures, 1939–1955

Depending on the nature of articulation, capitalist forces can undermine the domestic sector, driving peasants into urban slums as underemployed labourers and breeding working class and "lumpen" cultures. They can simultaneously give rise to small groups of elite with "petty bourgeois" or middle-class subcultures.[31] In South Africa, this process followed the development of manufacturing industry from the 1920s onwards. Substantial numbers of African women and men made their way from the farms and the reserves to the urban areas. Their concentration in towns gave rise to a relatively stable urban proletariat and created sociological conditions for the advent of black urban cultures and the emergence of new social and political identities.

Bonner has traced the roots of early African urban cultures in South Africa, and his argument deserves special attention in this chapter. Bonner argues that a distinctive black urban culture on the Rand has been forged out of a cultural exchange between a variety of elements involving the educated African elite, the Cape coloured and the migrant and urban working class.[32] Influences from the neighbouring countries have also played a significant role in the process.[33]

31. See for example J. Petras, "Class and politics in the periphery and the transition to socialism," *The Review of Radical Political Economics*, 8, 1976; A.Q. Obregon, "The marginal pole of the economy and the marginalised labour force," in H. Wolpe (ed.), *The Articulation of Modes of Production: Essays from Economy and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 254–88; and R. del Orno, "The Cuban revolution and the struggle against prostitution," *Crime and Social Justice*, 12, 1979, pp. 34–40.

32. Bonner, "Black urban cultures…," op cit, p. 1.

33. Ibid, pp. 2–6.

The Emergence of Urban Black Youth Cultures, 1955–1976

Urban black cultures developed under several constraints. These included: (1) the instability of the urban black family; (2) the breakdown of family and social discipline; (3) the generalized poverty that permeated African life; (4) a stagnant employment market and massive unemployment of urban juveniles; (5) the flood of immigrants and massive over-crowding; (6) inadequate housing and shortage of housing; and (7) malnutrition and disease. The migrant labour system spawned "loose family unions," family disintegration, a high illegitimacy rate and the breakdown of family and community socialization and disciplinary agencies. On the one hand, parental control was sluggish or entirely lacking and, on the other, besides being insufficient in numbers, schools were confronted with a high-drop out rate and low attendance.[34] General frustration and strategies of survival, mainly social crime, dominated the lives of the urban black youth. Under these circumstances, men went to work in the factories, mines and businesses. Women spent their days washing and hawking or as maids in white areas. Children flooded the streets. In the streets, they developed methods of survival and compensation for their socially mutilated life and social insecurity. There they engaged in gang competitions and battles, gambling, soccer matches and various other games as well as burglary and crime. The streets became a focal point where a constellation of interests, new values, attitudes and identities began to crystallize.

It appears that youth gang culture developed under the same constraints that conditioned the development of their parent cultures, urban black working-class cultures. Under these constraints, the consequence was the development of a youth culture associated with *tsotsis* because of its anti-social make-up.[35] Crime and violence began to terrorise the townships in increasing proportions. An important distinction should be made here. The black urban cultures that emerged in the 1920s and the 1930s were cultures of survival around the collective but politically passive institutions of the shebeen,

34. Ibid, p. 1.

35. Bonner, "Family, crime . . . ," op cit; Bonner, "Black urban cultures . . . ," op cit; Glaser, op cit; and Don Pinnock, *The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984).

stokvel (rotating credit associations) and *marabi* dance. By the early 1950s, the criminal element became dominant. Tsotsi or youth gang culture began to command township life and spread instability through the black locations. This harsh reality of township life was well captured in the words of Steve Biko: "Township life alone makes it a miracle for anyone to live up to adulthood."[36]

Gangs and Resistance Politics, 1950–1976

Can those initial forms of youth culture, i.e. *tsotsi* culture, be conceptualized in political terms? What political content (if any) did they have? There are no final answers to these questions. There are indications, however, that the actions of youth gangs very often assumed a political character.

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the late 1940s and the 1950s were characterized by increasing militancy in South African black politics. The foundation of the ANC Youth League in 1949 not only changed the course of African nationalism from a liberal and accommodationist approach to a militant and active challenge to the system of apartheid, but it also brought increasing numbers of youth into the liberation movement. What role did gangs or street gang culture play in this process? Evidence indicates that in spite of their anti-social behaviour youth gangs were a potentially powerful resource "in wider political struggles presenting both opportunities and constraints to political action."[37] Politically they could easily identify themselves with the ideals and objectives of the liberation struggle, which promised them an alternative to harsh conditions of township and street life. In practice, they could hardly outgrow or relinquish the style and patterns of behaviour which dominated street life. Gangs took part in "stayaways," boycotts and the Defiance Campaign, organized by the ANC in response to, *inter alia*, the coming of Bantu Education. In the process they brought with them some of the anarchy, self-assertion and spirit of defiance of the

36. Steve Biko, *I Write what I Like* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 109.

37. Bonner, "Family, crime . . . ," op cit, p. 13. For details about the intellectual history of this process see M. Cross, "'The black intelligensia, African politics and education in South Africa, 1884–1976," in M. Cross, *Resistance and Transformation* (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1992), pp. 64–68.

streets. As will be shown, this observation offers a background for understanding post-1976 youth practices and subcultures.

The Development of a Youth Resistance Movement, 1976–1985

From the late 1960s a process began whereby initial forms of youth gang culture were increasingly integrated into the resistance movement. Three main factors played a central role in this process: (1) the psychological appeal that Black Consciousness had for youth by giving them the hope that they were capable of controlling their own destiny,[38] (2) the expansion of secondary education, which incorporated a considerable portion of the surplus youth from the street and absorbed its subcultures; and (3) the political mobilization of the 1976 Soweto uprising, which cut across the boundaries of the developing youth subcultures. To these factors one can also add the sense of generational identity produced by the demographic nature of South African society, with half of its population under the age of 21 and 45% per cent of the African population under the age of 15.[39] Of relative importance was the increasing rate of unemployment and the sense of social insecurity that it inculcated in youth.

Black Consciousness inherited the youthful militancy of the ANC Youth League, which challenged the liberal nationalism and reformist approach adopted by the old ANC leadership. As spelt out by Biko, Black Consciousness represented the emergence of a group of militant youths who were beginning to "grasp the notion of (their) peculiar uniqueness," the peculiarity of their problems, history and culture and, thus, to realize the need to evolve a political philosophy based on and directed by blacks towards their own emancipation outside white liberal tutelage.[40] Accordingly, the process of emancipation had to start with the individual person, particularly "the mind of the oppressed," the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor. To put it differently, Black Consciousness involved psychological and cultural liberation, whereby black people would overcome the question of black de-

38. Of particular importance was the Black Community Programme founded by S. Biko and B. Khoapa and its network among youth.
39. Bundy, "Street sociology and pavement politics…," op cit, p. 310.
40. Steve Biko, "White Racism and Black Consciousness," in Biko, op cit, pp. 66–67.

pendency, the traditional inferior-superior and black-white complexes, and restore their inherent dignity to develop a national consciousness. It expressed group pride and the determination by blacks to rise and attain the envisaged Self. As a political culture, it was a unifying force which brought together the whole generation of youth (from the school grounds to the streets) to see with greater clarity the immensity of their responsibility in the process of their emancipation.

The expansion of secondary schooling had a double and contradictory effect. Firstly, it bridged the gap between street subcultures and student movements by bringing the "mobs" and surplus children from the streets to the classrooms. Secondly, the tensions determined by the deterioration of the school environment (lack of staff, shortage of accommodation, packed classrooms, etc.) plus the rising political consciousness of black university students created objective and subjective conditions for the development of a nation-wide counter-hegemonic resistance culture. School children came to see the system of Bantu Education as a mechanism of socialization into the subordinate roles reserved for blacks within the apartheid society.

The 1976 Soweto uprising consolidated in practice the political identity and link between students and the youth outside the schools. What had started as a new student movement with SASO in 1969 came to assume the form of a wider national youth movement against the hostile economic, social, political and educational conditions imposed by the apartheid system. It became increasingly difficult to distinguish between students' concerns and the concerns of the wider youth groups. They both had similar expectations in their future: unemployment and the harsh conditions their parents had been forced to live in. Typical gang violence tended to be replaced by political violence in response to growing state repression. School grounds became not just battle fields of youth subcultures (school cultures, student movements and street subcultures, etc.) combined to form a national youth resistance culture.

Another important factor was of a cultural nature. Street-gang life involves activities which require courage, adventurism, and a sense of masculinity and self-confidence.[41] To most Soweto youths, the 1976

41. Note that although limited female participation could be found, gangs were predominantly male.

uprising represented an unprecedented opportunity for asserting and testing these qualities. In the context of the rebellion, gangs could easily face hardship and undertake tasks that an average untrained youth could not successfully perform, e.g. attack a police car or set fire to what were perceived as symbols of oppression (council buildings, police stations etc.). Similarly, children from middle-class backgrounds were able to transcend their one time "petty bourgeois" expectations and conformist attitudes. As will be illustrated, these expectations came to dominate youth in the late 1980s, in response to wider structural changes and disillusionment with the struggle.

The Crisis of the Youth Resistance Movement and the Resurgence of Urban Street Gangs, 1985-1990

The period 1985-1990 was characterized by an intensification of the contradictions that emerged as the youth negotiated its various subcultural experiences (school, street, family, etc.), which resulted in a nation-wide youth resistance movement. The distinguishing features of this period include: (1) unprecedented state repression; (2) a leadership and organizational crisis in the youth resistance movement; (3) increasing marginalization of youth following the disruption of organizational structures; (4) the resurgence of the street gang subculture; (5) the emergence of middle-class subcultures; and (6) greater polarization in youth politics.

The 1985 crisis[42] and the consequent declaration of a state of emergency were accompanied by a profound change in the state's mode of repression: a shift from total strategy to what Haysom calls the counter-insurgency doctrine of low intensity conflict that had been used in El Salvador and the Philippines.[43] Total strategy, which entailed the mobilization of all social, economic, political and military resources to counter the threat of communism in South Africa, came to be seen as no longer effective. The theory of low intensity conflict stresses total

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42. The 1985 schools crisis led to a total boycott of black schools by schoolchildren under the banner "Liberation Now, Education Later," which ended with the emergence of the People's Education Movement. School children agreed to return to schools under the condition that People's Education would be integrated into the school curriculum.

43. Nicholas Haysom, "Vigilantism and the policing of African townships: Manufacturing violent stability," in D. Davis & M. Slabber (eds), Crime and Power in South Africa (Johannesburg and Cape Town: David Philip, 1985), p. 65.

war at the grassroots level against popular rebellions with soft war tactics or WHAM tactics (winning the hearts and minds of the people) to destroy popular insurgency without appearing to be waging war directly on the masses. It eliminates revolutionary forces, particularly by isolating the leadership from its mass base, and neutralizing its structures, including homes, families and the entire grassroots organizational network. The new strategy was expected to minimize the crisis determined by the deteriorating economic and political climate in the early 1980s, the proliferation of political organizations and the rapid politicization of black communities manifested in nation-wide demonstrations, school boycotts, consumer boycotts and stay-aways, phenomena that had assumed the dimension of total resistance.[44]

This shift also inaugurated the emergence of vigilante groups in South Africa, violent reactionary groupings operating in black communities to neutralize individuals or organizations opposed to the apartheid system. To mention just a few, vigilante groups that emerged in the course of 1985 and 1986 included the Phakatis in Thabong township of the Orange Free State, the Amabutho in Umlazi in Natal, the Mbhokoto in KwaNdebele/ Uitenhage, the Ama-Afrika in KwaNobuhle in the Eastern Cape and the Witdoeke in Crossroads in the Cape Peninsula. The vigilantes penetrated the youth resistance movement, disorganizing its structures and eliminating its leadership.[45]

The climate of terror spread by vigilante groupings was exacerbated by the activity of the state killing machine or death squads.[46] The leadership began to show signs of weakness. Organizational structures became fragmented and ineffective under the pressure of the vigilantes and the disruptive effects of successive school closures. Informal methods of social control exercised over the youth by these structures, and by the older generation, parents, teachers, community leaders and working-class organizations, were gradually swept away. This caused

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44. The term total resistance is suggested by Haysom, op cit, p. 73.

45. For more details on vigilante groups see N. Haysom, Ruling with the Whip The rise of the right wing vigilantes in South Africa, 1994; N. Haysom, "Mabangalala: The rise of the right wing vigilantes in South Africa," occasional paper, 10, Johannesburg: Centre for Applied Legal Studies, 1986; and N. Gwala, "Inkatha, political violence and the struggle for control in Pietermaritzburg," unpublished paper, Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1988.

46. For details see Nico Steytler, "Policing political opponents: death squads and cop culture," in Davis & Slabber (eds), op cit, pp. 107-131.

a growing alienation and marginalization of youth, which increased the pace and scope of gang formation in the late 1980s.

However, these forces became effective only because of the generalized crisis in almost every sphere of youth life. Scharf identifies three converging sets of factors leading to this crisis: (1) the education crisis in the schools, the lack of alternative education, and thorough political conscientization in a context where youth had little hope of employment; (2) the politicization of sport; and (3) militaristic populism associated with the rise of youth soldiers or Young Lions.[47] The latter represents what Webster has labelled "military voluntarism," characterized by uncontrolled and counterproductive military adventurism of a "terrorist" kind.

The state's coercive response to the rising levels of mobilization prevented the trade unions and the national political organizations from consolidating their structures. After the army occupied the townships, protest became increasingly militaristic as large numbers of youths began engaging the security forces in running street battles that claimed hundreds of lives. The militaristic voluntarism of the youth eclipsed the organizational concerns of the activists as the township became "ungovernable."[48]

In addition, youth organizations such as youth clubs and church-sponsored youth programmes as well as a variety of street-based youth initiatives (music and dance gangs, soccer groups, etc.) had either become inoperative or were incapable of absorbing the increasing waves of children out of school. Evidence indicates that these factors played approximately the same role in several parts of the country. Gangs of youth spread terror over black townships, eliminating youth leaders, assaulting and raping school children and curtailing social mobility of residents and political mobilization. As a result, in Soweto many schools were temporarily closed.

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47. Wilfred Scharf, "The Resurgence of urban street gangs and community responses in Cape Town during the late eighties," in D. Davis & M. Slabbert (eds), op cit, p. 237.

48. Eddie Webster, "The rise of social-movement unionism: the two faces of the black trade union movement in South Africa," in P. Frankel, N. Pines & M. Swilling (eds), *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988), p. 191.

Two aspects characterized the new wave of street gangs in the late 1980s. Firstly, some actions of youth gangs clearly assumed a political character. They targeted schoolchildren, mainly student and youth political leaders. Gangs, particularly those which re-emerged from the resistance movement—known as comtsotsis—became a potentially powerful resource for state officialdom as tools against political "agitators."

Bonner argues that youth gang culture can be "a vital resource in wider political struggles presenting both opportunities and constraints to political action."[49] However, Pinnock presents a view which highlights more clearly the nature of the gangs in the 1980s. For him gang activities "are obviously not a recipe for winning popular hegemony" and perhaps "not even part of resistance."[50] Gangs easily enter into agreements or partnership with the authorities in policing the townships and doing the dirty work of the police, and their presence can be disruptive for mass events held at weekends or at night. During a gang invasion of schools in Diepkloof in 1989, there were indications that some "jackrollers"[51]—operating within the Mass Democratic Movement—were involved in a systematic elimination of activists. In this sense, the gangs are generally reactionary.[52] Secondly, unlike those of the 1950s, the gangs of the 1980s were more educated (school-leavers or drop-outs) and more politically aware, which illustrates the contradictions generated by the nature of the South African educational system.

The Resurgence of Youth Conformist and Middle-class Subculture, 1985–1990

A recent but important development in youth culture was the emergence of a typically middle-class subculture in the 1980s dominated by elitism, tolerance of some aspects of dominant ideologies,

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49. Bonner, "Family, crime...," op cit, p. 13.

50. Pinnock, op cit, p. 105.

51. The most frightening group, very often involved in cases of rape of school girls, was known as "the jackrollers."

52. Ibid, p. 105.

concern with personal autonomy, selfishness and political indifference or apathy. Factors determining this cultural process range from (1) the values and new forms of behaviour brought to township life by those attending "open" schools (South African private multi-racial schools), and (2) the effects on youth perceptions of the structural changes undertaken by the state in the townships such as the promotion of exclusively high-income housing and townships, to (3) different family, employment and leisure experience.

The "open" schools, as schools for the elite, generally provided highly personalizing forms of socialization stressing individuality rather than collectivity, personal autonomy rather than ascription, competition rather than co-operation, and other values seen by many black parents as negative within an African setting and not directly open to parental surveillance. Thus children attending these schools might acquire new lifestyles regarded as alienating them from their African traditions, values and customs.[53] They tended to display more docile, diligent and conscientious behaviour. They showed preference for foreign and culturally exotic forms of practice, interests and leisure pursuits. They returned to the neighbourhood with a clearly identifiable sense of cultural displacement and consequent lack of authenticity. Unable to negotiate successfully their school experience with their township counterparts, they tended to form a marginal but solid subcultural group.[54]

Material benefits, environment and the social status achieved by their parents also had profound effects on their perceptions, consciousness and social practices. They tended to engage in symbolically narcissistic forms of practice which allowed for personal satisfaction and outward prestige or, in Bernstein's words, "a celebration

53. See M. Cross, "Catholic 'open' schools in the Transvaal, 1976-1986: the road to non-racial education in South Africa," Education and Society, 5(1 & 2), 1987; M. Gaganakis, "HSRC investigation: education in a multicultural society. Perspectives of black pupils in Johannesburg private schools," University of the Witwatersrand, 1988; J.G. Marivandela, "School stayaways: attitudes of pupils who attend township and city schools" (BA Hons Social Work, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987); P. Christie & D. Butler, "Witness through schooling: an evaluation of the Catholic open schools in South Africa 1986," Report presented to the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, January 1988.
54. These considerations are based on data obtained through a questionnaire administered to pupils at Sacred Heart College, Johannesburg.

of the present over the past, the subjective over the objective, the personal over the positional."[55] Luxurious cars, "leather jackets," foreign music and nightclubs dominated their interests and hobbies. Their parents play a central role in this process of socialization.[56] Seekings says that in Soweto, for example, many people under this category were widely "accused of being 'snobs', who have changed their attitudes so drastically that they no longer seem part of the community ... 'they have lost all the warmth one never misses elsewhere in Soweto' ... 'they only know each other by the posh cars they drive'...though they see themselves as still swimming in the same waters with every other black."[57]

The size and social weight of this stratum has grown in response to the burgeoning modes of middle-class socialization: elitist schools, rich families, better townships, better employment opportunities. Although politics have blurred the boundaries between working-class and middle-class youth subcultures, in Soweto the contours of these class strata have increasingly crystallized and their different social worlds are more distinguishable. One can speculate that state initiative to rehabilitate black townships and introduce separate elite housing schemes in the 1980s was to a large extent a clear response to or an attempt to accelerate these trends in the social structure.[58] In Soweto this strategy militated against the emergence of a strong sense of a (working-class) "community" as happened in the poorer townships on the East Rand and in the Eastern Cape.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the processes and patterns of identity construction among South African black youth. It has highlighted both the structural and subjective factors which determined the de-

55. B. Bernstein quoted by Peter Aggleton in Rebels Without a Cause: Middle Class Youth and the Transition from School to Work (London, New York and Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1987), p. 39.
56. For details about the African middle class see S.C. Nolutshungu, Changing South Africa: Political Considerations (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982); and O. Crankshaw, "Theories of class and the African middle class in South Africa, 1969-1987," Africa Perspective, New Series, 1 & 2, 1986.
57. Seekings, op cit, p. 3.
58. Ibid, p. 3.

velopment of particular social and political identities as well as the cultural terrain in which these identities gained expression; namely the family, the schools and the streets. It has shown that the interface of economic, social and political factors, particularly those inherent to the system of Bantu Education, resulted in the forging of a broader national identity, binding youths from different backgrounds and subcultural settings. The terrain in which this identity was forged was that of the resistance movement which dominated youth politics during the 1970s and 1980s. However, contradictions generated within this movement and political events since the late 1980s resulted in a profound identity crisis among black South African youth.

The question that emerges against the above background is whether social forces exist that have the potential to redirect youth into positive modes of social practice and reintegrate youth in more constructive ways of life. The agenda is dramatically extensive. It is necessary: (1) to reduce and remove gangsterism in the townships; (2) to unite youth who have been fragmented by conflicting cultural experiences and political competition after the unbanning of political organizations, and build the sense of national identity lost in the 1980s; (3) to liberate youth from the legacy of ideological indoctrination, racism, white-black, superior-inferior complexes; (4) to empower youth with a sense of self-confidence, assertiveness and self-pride; and (5) to provide youth with the necessary skills, knowledge and critical thinking to cope with the challenge of reconstruction and so forth. This chapter does not address these specific issues. That must be an object of wider debate at the grassroots level as the process of national reconstruction unfolds. There are however important policy implications from the arguments developed in this chapter, which require immediate attention.

A structural functional view would suggest that since youth problems are caused by forces inherent in the social and economic structures, they can be prevented or controlled only by radically changing these structures. This view is still popular within South African educational circles disillusioned by the failure of the reform process to address fundamental problems faced by South African society.

The problem with a structural functional view is that it overlooks the role of subjectivity and contradiction in the process of change. It disregards the role of ideology in reproducing and *transforming* social relations and the centrality of the imagery produced within youth

subcultures in shaping and consolidating particular identities. These factors can either precipitate or inhibit the process of change. There are subjective factors embedded in culture and ideology that may curtail or inhibit structural changes in society. Furthermore, history has shown that revolutions do not automatically eradicate all cultural styles that come to be seen as undesirable, outdated or incompatible with the new social order, even if profound structural changes take place.[59]

The implication is that efforts to change the structures and social relations should be dialectically linked to active intervention at the level of youth culture to counter the degenerating cultural forms which are becoming increasingly endemic in society: social crime and violence, drugs and alcohol abuse, and so forth. This should also include efforts to re-evaluate and transform old-fashioned youth practices, particularly resistance practices.

The question of resistance culture has been discussed elsewhere,[60] but it is necessary to stress that the need to emphasize struggles of transformation rather than *struggles of resistance* stems from the very nature of the resistance culture. Commonsensical views of resistance culture unproblematically see culture as a positive transformative process. This is an oversimplification of the matter. Resistance may

59. Scharf, op cit, p. 243.

60. The following extract seems however important for clarification:

Two important concepts are essential for an understanding of the process of struggles for a non-racial and democratic education in South Africa: (1) the concept of struggles of resistance and (2) *the concept of struggles of transformation*.

The concept of *struggles of resistance* refers to oppositional practices that challenge control and power in school relations by focusing on immediate issues (such as democratic representative councils, free textbooks, better equipment and school conditions). The main strategy is dominated by immediatism or short-term fulfilment of the expressed demands or needs. The concept of *struggles of transformation* embody medium- and long-term goals, which are directed in some way at the relations of production and reproduction imposed by the apartheid system in general and segregated schooling in particular. Political strategies in this case contain a new dimension. They transcend the purely destructive nature of the struggles of resistance to incorporate the need for reconstruction, which is a fundamental factor towards emancipation. (M. Cross, "from a culture of resistance to a culture of reconstruction: A new perspective on educational struggles," in *Resistance and Transformation*, op cit, pp. 158–159.)

serve to reproduce rather than transform existing social identities.[61] As Aronowitz and Giroux put it, "not all oppositional behaviour has 'radical significance' nor is all oppositional behaviour a clear-cut response to domination."[62] Oppositional behaviour may embody ideologies both underlying the structure of social domination and containing the logic necessary to overcome it. According to Aronowitz and Giroux:

> Oppositional behaviour may not be simply a reaction to powerlessness, but might be an expression of power that is fuelled by and reproduces the most powerful grammar of domination. Thus, on the one level, resistance may be the simple appropriation and display of power, and may manifest itself through the interests and discourse of the worst aspects of capitalist rationality. For example, students may violate school rules, but the logic that informs such behaviour may be rooted in forms of ideological hegemony such as racism and sexism. Moreover, the source of such hegemony often originates outside of the school. Under such circumstances, schools become social sites where opposition behavior is simply played out, emerging less as a critique of schooling than as an expression of dominant ideology.[63]

In this case, oppositional behaviour and related political identities are thus informed by a dominating rather than liberating logic. Aggleton uses the term reproductive resistance to refer to systematic intentioned resistance that works contradictorily by contributing to hegemonic rather than counter-hegemonic tendencies in contrast to *effective resistance* which may contribute counter-hegemonically within power struggles.[64] It is necessary to understand the significance of "resistance" as social practice, how it is worked out, and how it is articulated with other practices within society. As Bowles and Gintis have demonstrated, determinate effects arise as an outcome of complex and contradictory articulation between practices at different sites within social formations, which means that the effects

of "resistance" are unpredictable.[65] There are constraints imposed on the development of social practices within a particular site by virtue of that site's articulation with others, as well as the possibilities allowed for by the transportation of practices across sites, for example gang culture in resistance culture and vice versa.

61. See for example P. Willis, *Learning to Labour* (Hampshire: Gower, 1979).
62. S. Aronowitz & H.A. Giroux, *Education under Siege—The Conservative, Liberal and Radical Debate over Schooling* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 99.
63. Ibid., p. 100.
64. Aggleton, op cit, p. 125.
65. See H. Gintis & S. Bowles, "Contradiction and reproduction in education theory" [L. Barton, R. Meighan & S. Walker (eds), *Schooling, Ideology and the Curriculum* (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1981)].

Chapter Eleven

Conclusion

In conclusion I shall highlight and summarize the major arguments developed in this study and draw major theoretical implications for the process of transition in South Africa with reference to educational change. Afrikaner politics emerged in South Africa with a distinctive nationalist discourse, which encouraged Afrikaners to think of themselves as a distinct *volk* with a common history, language, culture, identity and destiny, and as culturally different from the English-speaking groups, who were perceived as a threat to Afrikaner identity and cultural integrity and as representing British capital, imperialism and liberalism. Instrumental in promoting this discourse were Afrikaner intellectuals, including politicians, clergy and educationists, who undertook to describe and reinterpret Afrikaner value systems and to promote institutions which reflected Afrikaner aspirations. Between 1881 and 1901, the Afrikaner intelligentsia began to articulate concepts such as Afrikanerhood, Afrikanerdom, Afrikaner nation, and Afrikaner identity, to mobilize and unite Afrikaners in the struggle against British imperialism and subsequent British anglicization policies. One outcome was Christian National Education, which helped to provide an effective ideological and philosophical basis for Afrikaner nationalism.

The constitutive elements of Afrikaner nationalist discourse emanated from a variety of sources, including Calvinist ideas propagated by leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church, and literary and commemorative initiatives focusing on Afrikaner history and the status of Afrikaans as the language of the Afrikaners. Cultural organizations, free from party political disputes and capable of organizing people "in terms of the idea of culture," came to be seen as effective mechanisms which, through their various cultural and recreational activities, would ultimately harmonize Afrikaners and minimize potential conflicting interests of a class, gender, religious or political nature. Cultural organizations received the task of developing an Afrikaner historical consciousness designed to serve as a source of inspiration for Afrikaner nationalists.

As Afrikaner concerns with the survival of Afrikanerdom increased and anti-British resistance intensified with the proliferation of CNE ideas, attempts were made, during the Milner period and in those periods when the parties of Louis Botha and Jan Smuts were in ascendancy, to build a national white identity by uniting Afrikaners and the English into a "white *volk*," while marginalizing blacks from mainstream political, economic and social life. This, it was hoped, would ultimately reduce nationalist feelings amongst Afrikaners. Milner, in particular, tried to assert British dominance in an imagined white South African nation by privileging whites and marginalizing the disfranchised black majority in all spheres of life. Botha and Smuts showed commitment to a new and broader white nation in South Africanism, which would result in a broader white nation in South Africa, in which Afrikaners would increasingly become dominant. Thus, an image of a white *volk* in a united South Africa, dominated by whites and serviced by rightless blacks, was promoted in different ways. However, while the main line of division remained that separating whites from other groups, the distinctiveness of Afrikaner and other white identity groups has prevailed until the present.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the need to reconcile the increasing secularization of Afrikaner society with the orthodox principles of Christian Nationalism resulted in a process of reformulation of the doctrine of Christian National Education. For the more conservative Afrikaners, who had always distrusted Smuts and his holism, the influences of humanism and liberalism and their secularizing aspects came to be seen as a threat to the image of the Calvinist Afrikaner. For this purpose, considerable intellectual and scientific resources were mobilized. Central to the process of reformulation were Calvinist notions of predestination, the concept of national calling and destiny, the idea that the authority of God should permeate all spheres of social life, and interdependence between the church, family, school and the state. Also relevant to the process of reformulation was the need to promote Afrikaner pre-eminence in the sphere of politics and the need to review the question of relations between white and black people in the light of CNE doctrine. Reformists resisted at all costs the process of economic and social integration, and regarded assimilation in any form, whether between the English and Afrikaners or between whites and blacks, as a major threat to the social, cultural and national integrity of the *volk*.

The re-definition of the political frontiers between Afrikaners and other white groups, particularly the English, also received particular attention within the reformulation initiative, though on a completely different logic from that of Milner. The idea favoured by Afrikaner nationalists was to create a new political frontier which divided South African society into two major groups, black and white, while safeguarding and consolidating Afrikaner hegemony within the ruling bloc. Despite the emphasis placed on differences between blacks and whites, two other factors were brought in to enhance loyalties and unity within the *volk*. First, the notion of *swartgevaar* (black danger) emphasised by Malan in 1948, whereby, if no effective measures were taken to protect the white race, whites would eventually be swamped by blacks, came to legitimate the increasing marginalization of blacks and the apartheid policies of the National Party. Afrikaner identity was gradually accepted as an antithesis to the threat that blacks allegedly represented to white and Afrikaner communities. Secondly, the image of "black danger" was also associated with the perception of another threat, that of communism. The oppositional activities of the ANC, the PAC, the Indian Congress and other resistance movements, including sectors of the Liberal Party, were recreated within the apartheid discourse and painted as communist-inspired and anti-white. Ultimately, the view of Afrikaner and English as having different identities, within a wider white community, prevailed, particularly from the Verwoerdian era onwards.

On the question of "race relations," the Afrikaners relied on segregationist policies developed during the reconstruction regime and on the discourses of culture developed by social anthropology in the 1920s and 1930s, which replaced the Victorian discourse of "civilizing mission" and colonial traditions of racism as the basis for social segregation. They borrowed from anthropology the concept of "Bantu culture," which, in their view, symbolized the material and spiritual expression of the social life of black people. With reference to this concept, they developed images of African people by highlighting and, very often, emphasizing the intellectual and cultural differences between whites and blacks, and the significance of those differences for the future of a white race and white supremacy in South Africa. Thus the invention and re-invention of symbols and images, which emphasized difference and the need for separateness in cultural and educational institutions of whites and blacks, became a major characteristic of Afrikaner nationalists. Their formulations had pro-

found implications for policy-making in the area of African education. Thereafter, segregationist thought drew on either "cultural idealism"—a particular form of racial segregation which emphasized national and cultural identity of each ethnic and racial group—or "nationalism," or on a synthesis of both developed within the framework of Christian Nationalism.

As pointed out in Chapter Four, the Nationalists were able to carry this policy of segregation to a greater degree of refinement than in the education system which they inherited from their predecessors. They were able to draw on the legacy of racial segregation and Christian Nationalism and develop a nationalist solution to the question of education of black South Africans based on the CNE principle of separate schools for separate cultural and race groups. Such a system would eventually assert white supremacy and Afrikaner hegemony, preserve and promote cultural differences, enhance "national" and "racial" identities, shape an ethnic consciousness of minority groups such as coloureds and Indians, and prevent interracial solidarity. With developments in ethnography, the all-embracing image of "Bantu culture" was refined into particular images of ethnic and national cultures comprising the different black linguistic groups. The result was the introduction of notions of "ethnic groups" as constitutive of "Bantu" people, and "ethnic cultures"—the peculiar way of life of an ethnic group—as constitutive of "Bantu culture." From the 1960s, South Africa was conceptualized not as a multi-racial society but as a multi-national one, in which blacks formed culturally and ethnically diverse social groups. Under the guardianship of a white nation, black ethnicities could progress in the homelands and eventually achieve full independence. The instruments to consolidate the development and preservation of the different nationalities were provided by the legislation which enforced segregated structures in education, the racialization of social amenities, the prohibition of cross-race sexual intercourse and marriages, and the policy of bantustanization. These changes were in part a response to the realization by Afrikaner nationalists that the promotion of ethnic/national identities amongst blacks could best serve white and Afrikaner hegemonic interests.

From the late 1960s, the "danger of communism," which began to dominate apartheid discourses, led once again to some political shifts with implications for the processes of construction of social identities: the co-option of moderate blacks and homeland leaders and the

systematic repression and marginalization of radical, mostly urban blacks. As blacks were both moderate and radical and could be excluded or accommodated accordingly, the political black/white frontier became increasingly blurred. The inside/dominant block could no longer remain uncontaminated or purely white. It began to open some space to moderate blacks: homeland leaders from the 1950s and, from the 1980s, coloureds and Indians. It was hoped that by granting political representation to these groups, the support basis of the dominant block would be broadened and thus strengthened in the face of a revolutionary threat.

In addition to these measures of inclusion of new agents in the dominant block, the state reforms of the 1970s, particularly in the areas of education, labour and influx control, had the effect of splitting the black population into privileged urban insiders, recognized as permanent residents of "white" South Africa, and the rural homeland outsiders. Among other factors, the weakening of the original black/white frontier and pressures from the social groups beyond this unstable frontier—extra-parliamentary groups, trade unions, youth movements and so forth—resulted in new antagonisms within the *volk*, which culminated in a generalized crisis of social and political identity within Afrikanerdom. The gradual "deracialization" of the apartheid system and the opening up of the dominant block to other racial groups had the effect of reconstituting the *volk* to accommodate new privileged elements. These developments resulted in a profound crisis and a readjustment of the social identities of the dominant group by the late 1980s.

The notions of "free enterprise" and "economic growth," which dominated liberal discourses in the 1960s, gradually gained acceptance within the discourse of the ruling Nationalist Party from the 1970s. The conception of white identity increasingly became less important than the notion of a new system based on western democracy. The radicalization of the Afrikaner Right, who saw liberal discourse as a threat to white supremacy, should be seen within this context. Tensions between the old and the new discourses in Afrikaner Nationalism from the 1970s, the decline of the influence of Christian National Education in determining education policy decisions, the forging of new identities amongst whites and between whites and blacks, must be seen against the background of the shifting political frontiers separating whites from blacks, and the need by the respective blocks to seek non-Afrikaner allies (for example, the

formation of the Freedom Alliance, which included all those opposed to the decisions made during the multi-party negotiations in the 1990s and President de Klerk's mobilization of "moderate" blacks into the National Party).

Related to this re-articulation of political identities, two positions about the future of Christian National Education emerged. First, there were attempts to search for a reformed rationale and ideological basis for old-style Afrikaner nationalism (based on the concepts of the fifties and the sixties) in orthodox and old-fashioned Christian Nationalist foundations. Second, there was a movement towards seeking reformed foundations for Afrikaner nationalist and cultural identity within the broader concept of South Africanism, accommodating both blacks and whites within a social and educational framework and affording recognition to the diversity of the religious cultures of the people of South Africa. As a consequence of this movement, the policy of white exclusivity and its Christian National Education foundations were increasingly wearing away from mainstream Afrikaner thinking and being replaced by liberal principles. Once again cultural and political organizations, academics, businessmen, radio and television, were mobilized to address the question of identity crisis within the *volk*.

Attempts made by liberals to split the dominant bloc and to disarticulate Christian Nationalist discourses culminated in the current dominance of liberal discourses in South African education. The efforts made by liberals in this regard began with severe criticisms of the most archaic aspects of racial segregation and their effects on the lives of black people. This was accompanied by the setting of institutions to promote co-operative relations between whites and blacks, shift the dividing lines between white and black identities, and build bridges to accommodate the growing numbers of assimilated or educated Africans. From the liberal point of view, the shifting of frontiers that divided whites from blacks and socialization in a variety of institutions such as Joint Councils, particularly education, would create conditions for the accommodation or co-option of those Africans who passed the test of "civilization" or education into the dominant block. The majority of "unassimilated," uneducated and tribal Africans, towards whom liberal discourses adopted a differential approach, were however excluded.

Liberal discourses had considerable impact on South African politics from the 1950s. Of particular importance was the emphasis they

placed on the conditions of economic stability and growth and commitment to deracialization and liberalization of the economy, which by implication de-emphasized the importance of white identity based on apartheid as an obstacle to free enterprise and western democracy in South Africa. By pursuing this line of thought, liberals succeeded in building a unique liberal identity in South Africa, the uniqueness of which lies not only in the pursuit of universally-valid liberal principles and values, but mainly in the development of discourses and practices which came to assume particular significance within the present South African context: opposition to an exclusivist white identity, rejection of racist discrimination, and espousal of principles of difference and diversity in cultural and not racial terms.

However, by focusing on the economics of education and by emphasizing the role of skills shortage as the main cause of unemployment in South Africa, liberal discourses were met with increasing criticism by neo-Marxists from the early 1970s. Liberal theories and ideas were dismissed as irrelevant and incapable of accounting for the complexity of South African society. Instead, neo-Marxists suggested completely new perspectives and alternative frameworks based on Marxist theory for addressing social issues in South Africa. Their discourses challenged race and ethnicity as a basis for constructing a South African identity. In developing emancipatory discourses, radicals/neo-Marxists emphasized the centrality of Marxist categories of "class," and "class struggle"; they also appropriated and integrated into those discourses popular signifiers such as "people's education for people's power," "people's history" and so forth. They privileged class and the role of the working class, particularly the black working class, in determining the future of South Africa. They challenged the concept of western or liberal democracy and proposed a project of radical democracy, based on working-class identity, the frontiers of which are determined by class conflict or class struggle. However, as has been highlighted in recent post-modernist literature, the emphasis on a structurally-determined class identity led to the construction of new privileged historical subjects for the project of radical democracy.

Class interests and class struggle were seen as the basis of identity construction in a democratic struggle. In the class struggle, the working class would develop a proletarian consciousness and a working-class identity. However, participation in working-class struggles is not determined by forces strictly located within the confines of class. Fur-

ther, the working class also participates in many other struggles which do not have any necessary relation with struggles at the level of the class struggle. These struggles have also some bearing on the way the shifting boundaries of the identity of the working class are established. As has been stressed in Chapter Eight, the era of "privileged subjects" in a historical sense has long been superseded. The role of emancipatory social forces in historical change is not structurally determined or pre-determined by any laws of social change but determined by the complex and unpredictable dynamics of political struggles. It is with reference to the hegemonic[1] articulation of these struggles that identity construction must be understood. Within the arena of politics, social agents are confronted with and choose between a wide range of possibilities. The outcome is by and large contingent and not structurally determined.

Against this background, the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid society must be thought about within a horizon of possibilities different from that suggested by the short-lived radical/neo-Marxist school in South African education. The radical/neo-Marxist tradition in its present state has certainly exhausted the possibilities of mastering the problems posed by the complexity of South African society and by current changes in the world history. There is an urgent need to re-think the options, strategies and methods posed by the discourses of the Left. Some of these require a careful review and the Left has to retain initiative in the process. To paraphrase Norval, this rethinking is occurring within an interregnum in a fluid and unstable situation where much will depend on the capacity of these movements to retain the initiative in the process of transition.[2]

Both liberal and radical discourses had significant impact on the political and ideological outlook of the African elite. They were by and large areas of interface between dominant discourses and African oppositional discourses, and have influenced the processes of identity

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1. Hegemonic as is used here refers, as Giroux puts it, "to elements of unconsciousness, common sense, and consciousness that are compatible with ideologies and social practices that perpetuate existing practices of domination and oppression," (S. Aronowitz & H.A. Giroux, *Education Under Siege* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 111; For a discussion of this concept see H.A. Giroux, *Theory & Resistance in Education* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983).

2. A.J. Norval, "Letter to Ernesto" in Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London, New York: Verso, 1990), p. 156.

construction amongst Africans and impacted on their imagery of identity. However, identity construction amongst blacks is also related to the particular ways these responded to colonial and apartheid systems. The particular nature of South African racial capitalism, its harsh social and economic conditions, and the increasing alienation of blacks from the prevailing economic, political and social structure, generated a wide variety of cultural responses, modes of representation and discursive formations different from those prescribed by dominant discourses. The expression of these responses ranged from oppositional cultures manifested through participation in protest and resistance movements, liberation struggle, to *tsotsi-ism* with its different nuances, and middle-class social identities. Amongst youth, these responses included disaffection from school work, classroom disobedience, school boycotts, "stay-aways" and absenteeism, social crime and street-gang life.

Through missionary education, Africans were socialized into Christian liberal values. As a consequence a large sector of the early African elite had a Christian liberal outlook and developed its identity around the set of values, ideals, interests and institutions promoted by white liberals. In response to the process of industrialization and increasing urbanization, African society became gradually integrated, socially, economically, politically and culturally. New alliances and solidarities, which cut across "tribal" or ethnic divisions, began to crystallize. These changes and the intensification of political nationalism in the second decade of the present century gave birth to African nationalism in the second decade of the present century and the increasing radicalization of the labour movement and the increasing radicalization of the labour movement. Identities forged within the framework of Christian liberalism came under fire. Liberal accommodationist discourses which claimed rights within the existing social order were replaced by militant nationalism which advocated a rediscovery or the re-building of an African identity outside the oppressive segregationist political framework. The images and doctrine of "negritude" and the Black Consciousness Movement were some of the manifestations of the efforts made to re-create an African identity and develop an imagery and modes of self-representation different from those prescribed by dominant discourses. A variety of cultural and educational initiatives were undertaken by youth organizations in the period following the 1976 school crisis to achieve these objectives.

The attempts made by the apartheid state to curtail African nationalism by promoting separate ethnic identities and by co-opting sectors of the middle class into "homeland" institutions did not produce the expected results. Instead, African nationalists rallying around a variety of legitimate demands such as demands for political participation, for racial equality, for access to education, for economic equality, for equal political rights, for control of working conditions, and so forth, combined with captivating images of a better future for black people, developed a national oppositional identity or, to use Laclau's words, a popular block opposed to the apartheid regime.[3] The system of differences and the symbolic universe of apartheid were increasingly challenged or disrupted by the imagery of a negated identity reconstituted by oppositional movements.

The arguments developed in this dissertation have important theoretical implications:

(1) Dominant discourses in South Africa have tended to emphasize images of difference through which dominant groups identified themselves in relation to all other identity groups and portrayed the social and cultural life of subordinate groups. For example, the image of "people in heaven" was associated with differential or separate missionary work for blacks and whites. The image of the "educated kaffir" in late 19th century Natal portrayed Africans as people who could not benefit from education. Smuts' image of *swartgevaar* as well as the idea of "total onslaught" played an important role in rallying whites around white supremacist policies. The images of African people linked to concepts such as the "educated franchise," "Bantu culture," "Bantu Education," "homeland," and so forth, had similar connotations.

(2) Most importantly, dominant discourses tended to define identity frontiers in purely relational and non-conflictual terms, as a natural consequence of difference between social groups. The fact that some groups are not only different from others but in many cases constitute such difference on the basis of the exclusion and subordination of

3. Laclau, *New Reflections...,* op cit, p. 166.

other groups was concealed. To put it differently, the differences were overemphasized while the relations of power which underpinned those differences were systematically ignored. While this feature seems common to many societies in the world, the distinctiveness of the situation of South Africa is that differences between racial and ethnic groups were promoted, enforced and protected by law to preserve white supremacy.

(3) With different focus and emphasis, both Nationalist and liberal discourses always justified their exclusivist policies by reference to universally-accepted principles.[4] For example, the discourse of "separate development" was repeatedly justified as a necessary political framework for full relations ethnic groups. Bantustans were justified as a transformation of the universal principle and right for self-determination of each "population group" in South Africa. The liberal "free market" discourse, which embodies universally valid rationale, might have had the consequence of marginalising the black majority from the mainstream economic life, given the prevailing economic and social conditions.

(4) Changing identities throughout the history of South African education have highlighted the fact that new identities are constructed only with reference to old identities, i.e that there is an element of continuity and discontinuity in the process of identity construction. This has serious implications for the forging of new identities in the transition to a post-apartheid era. Thus the project of nation-building or the construction of a unitary national identity in South Africa entails the questioning and re-articulation of the political identities inherited from the apartheid legacy, such that no single identity can be kept pure and intact. The construction of a new identity, be it an ethnic identity or a wider national identity, always takes place with reference

4. Note that I have argued that liberal concepts based on an assimilationist approach were by implication exclusivist as they marginalised all those who had no access to education.

to the existing identities. The mere denial of old identities, as constructed by apartheid discourse, will be insufficient, for it leaves that terrain open and uncontested. To put it differently, the Other—contested identities—is constitutive of the Self—emerging identities. However, as Norval has indicated,* to be able to affirm the opening up of the Self to the Other, of the identity to alterity, is "to be determined in the context in which the 'post' [in post-apartheid] is thought."[5] How the educational system may help us to open ourselves to other members of society or to other identities, is to be determined in the context in which the new school curriculum and practice is thought, negotiated and implemented.

The logic of difference which characterised dominant discourses was translated in politics of separation, differential treatment and segregation in education. As such, South Africa could be characterized as a limit case of multiculturalism, in which the curriculum emphasized the role of education in entrenching and reproducing ethnic and racial consciousness while obscuring the dominant relations of domination and subordination. The curriculum was based on a typically racist and oppressive value-system which stressed racism, sexism, tribalism, individualism and elitism. Therefore, it appears to me that a meaningful alternative educational policy should redress this legacy. Furthermore, such a policy should have enough flexibility to be able to reconcile emerging identities and minimize potential identity conflict, while contributing to the re-structuring of the economic and social imbalances.

To minimize identity conflict, education should prepare people who can both master the skills of intellectual production and use them in engaging the forces of history in active critical self-consciousness, to filter and challenge the legacy of oppressive and discriminatory discourses and cultural practices. For this purpose, education should give particular attention to critical understanding of diverse cultural heritages and patterns of identity construction which reproduce racist and exclusivist imagery of identity. It should not only incorporate elements of diversity (ethnic, social or cultural), but also

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5. I would like to thank Norval for this theoretical insight. For details see Norval, "Letter to Ernesto," op cit, p. 156.

develop critical awareness of the nature of this diversity, that is, the nature of the unequal relationship which exists between different social groups and regions, and the racist and ethnic imagery which mediated in reproducing and legitimizing the unequal allocation of power and privilege. From this point of view, to learn about cultures and identities could be a radicalizing force in the development of a national sentiment within unitary, democratic, non-racist and non-sexist society. This requires the realization that differences of culture or identity between ethno-linguistic groups are not more significant than the similarities. Common experiences and similarities are more profound and enriching than differences.

However, positive elements of difference (that is, those which do not legitimize the legacy of domination and oppression) can be accommodated to enrich and consolidate unity and national identity. By national unity I mean the process whereby the mutual acceptance, cohesion and harmony of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, economic and social differences concur to the project of nation-building, through the consciousness of common history, common values and common interests. As Booker T. Washington pointed out, "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as fingers, yet as one hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[6] It is a result of historical process, social mobility and voluntary inculturation. As a social interaction, it emerges and develops from below, as an inevitable response to social and political contradictions. As an inmoral ideal—national culture involves an active and conscious process, whereby, through human intervention and creativity and through convergence of customs, practices, beliefs and institutions, the frontiers between racially- and ethnically-conceived identities are opened to let the universal expression of humanity assert itself.

National identity implies a degree of intellectual and moral leadership committed to the ideal of a nation free of all oppression and exploitation. The building of a national culture thus means allowing a core of common cultural practices, beliefs and customs, to develop, a core that is derived from all the different social, regional and language groups. Further, the creation of a national identity is also a process of transformation, the processing of those cultural practices,

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6. Booker T. Washington, quoted in W. Eiselen, "Gedagtes oor Apartheid," *Tydskrif vir die Geesteswetenskappe*, 2, Jaargang VI, April 1949, pp. 5–6.

beliefs and customs necessary for the construction of a new nation, including those that may hinder the development of a national sentiment.

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